The Social Contract

Vol. XIII, No. 4 Summer 2003

Highlights

Guest feature section editor John Rohe includes an interview with Senator Gaylord Nelson, an excerpt from Nelson's recent book, *Beyond Earth Day*, and a speech he gave to the Conservation Summit at Michigan State University in 2001. Rohe also reviews Nelson's book.

Our Australian correspondent, Denis McCormack, comments on recent reports in that country about the effects of population growth.

Lee Madland links population growth to mass immigration.

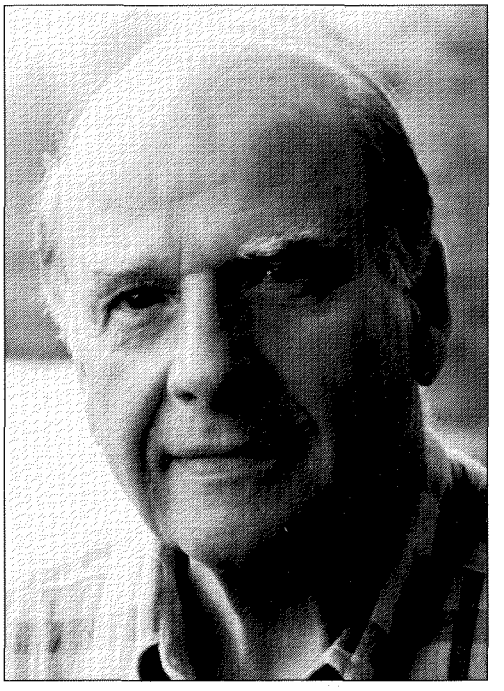
We present the Executive Summary of John Attarian's monograph on mass immigration as the wrong answer to saving Social Security.

Funding for open borders and for refugee settlement are researched by Joseph Fallon, Ed Rubenstein and Wayne Lutton.

Pertinent books are reviewed by Lee MacVaugh, John Attarian.

Gaylord Nelson and Earth Day

The Senator who helped turn many of us into environmentalists



Senator Gaylord Nelson

We are pleased to reprint in its entirety a new report on immigration to California and its contribution to population growth between 1990 and 2002.
See page 250.

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About THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal examines trends, events, and ideas that have an impact on America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted? and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture, and national unity considerations. What shared values are necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at creating and guarding their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles, essays and book reviews that vary greatly in outlook and philosophy. We encourage a wide spectrum of opinion as we publish contributions from many vantage points. The opinions expressed by the writers are not necessarily those of the editors or publisher.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. XIII, No. 4 Summer 2003

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A Note from the Editor

The Garrett Hardin Society Online!

Transmission of knowledge from one generation to another is a challenge. In the past, it often took direct contact with a parent, teacher, or trusted friend to introduce us to new ideas, books, and their authors. One of the benefits of the availability of the Internet is that individuals searching for information on particular topics can come across sites containing information and sources they might not hear of from their circle of acquaintances.

Many of the readers of *The Social Contract* do so online. Often they are high school and college students doing research on immigration, population numbers, resource conservation and problems associated with multiculturalism. The Fall 2001 issue of our journal included a special feature on the work of Garrett Hardin, "one of the intellectual leaders of our time," as *Science* magazine observed. It would be difficult to name another person who has influenced so many people involved in our mutual concerns.

Some months ago, a few of Professor Hardin's admirers decided to launch The Garrett Hardin Society as an online site dedicated to the preservation and wider dissemination of his work. The Garrett Hardin Society is now a reality. It contains biographical information, a selection of his most influential articles, and a list of his books along with links to sites where they may be purchased.

The Homepage includes quotes from the large store of insights by Dr. Hardin and each time you visit the site you will see a different quotation.

The Social Contract Press has been privileged to contribute to the preservation of some of Hardin's work by reissuing a number of his books which had gone out of print.

An emeritus professor of human ecology at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Garrett Hardin deserves a wide audience for his cogent observations about biology, ethics, and public policy.

Please visit: www.GarrettHardinSociety.org.

* * *

Our thanks go to Michigan attorney, author, and environmental activist John Rohe for editing the feature section of this issue of *The Social Contract.* Senator Gaylord Nelson deserves our gratitude for launching Earth Day after long effort and turning America's attention to the fragile nature of our surroundings.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D.
Editor

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Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

Some of us are asking questions: This is a great country, why are we selling our citizenship and its privileges so cheap?

Why are many of our own taxpayer citizens who need support and housing being denied in order to support others who come from the outside to take advantage of our largesse? There are newspapers in the Orient, especially China, that actually give advice about how to get into the United States and take advantage of SSI, Medicaid, and housing policies.

Why, when we are worried about crime, are we being so loose about letting criminals cross our borders and even giving them citizenship without ever checking on their backgrounds? In our own city we have drug dealers who slip easily across the border, are caught and deported, and are back again within days. Some of them even vote and gain citizenship.

Why do we allow pregnant women to sneak across the border, have babies at our expense – an act which gives the new-born child citizenship and eventually entitles a whole family to all kinds of benefits?

We have many questions and thousands of clippings to back up our statements – and in one poll the advice that 83 percent of the people want immigration controlled.

EVELYN ELFSTROM
Littleton, Colorado

EDITOR:

Never have we had a better chance at immigration reform than now. Mainstream media have now begun to recognize immigration law as a problem and have begun to talk about it. People in Congress like Senator John McCain have even recognized it. We also have chairmen of committees – that we have never had in my lifetime – people that are more favorable to internal immigration law enforcement. Our main resistance is from the Executive Branch – State, Homeland Security, and HUD.

People who are concerned with this problem should contact their representatives. Without deportation it will only be a matter of time before we are overwhelmed.

A READER via e-mail

Garrett Hardin merges unyielding biological principles with ethical considerations. The Garrett Hardin Society (GHS) promotes the continued recognition and discussion of Dr. Hardin's compassionate insights as an ecologist, biologist, philosopher, teacher, and father.

Garrett Hardin's writings enable us to responsibly assess our surroundings to optimize the quality of life for present and future generations. By perpetuating Dr. Hardin's writings, GHS will provide a meaningful opportunity to discuss ecological, economic, demographic, and ethical issues.

www.GarrettHardinSociety.org

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

Here are some additional sites that readers may find of interest. Listing them here does not imply that THE SOCIAL CONTRACT endorses the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR): www.fairus.org.
- Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America at www.diversityalliance.org.
- Immigration by the Numbers: www.numbersusa.com.
- ProEnglish: www.proenglish.org.
- Californians for Populations Stabilization (CAPS): www.capsweb.org
- A new voice for population/environment issues: www.sprawlcity.org.
- Center for Immigration Studies: www.cis.org.
- *Limits to Growth* edited by Brenda Walker: www.LimitsToGrowth.org.
- Friends of Immigration Law Enforcement: www.fileus.com.
- www.ImmigrationsHumanCost.org.
- Alternatives to Growth Oregon at: www.agoregon.org.
- National parks at our southern border are being overrun by an overwhelming number of illegal aliens: www.desertinvasion.us.
- Comments from Peter Brimelow, Joseph Fallon, and others: www.vdare.com.
- Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR) and links to other state-based organizations: www.cairco.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: www.carryingcapacity.org.
- Negative Population Growth: www.npg.org.
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform: www.ccir.net.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News:* www.migration.ucdavis.edu.
- Professor Norman Matloff: www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu /pub/Immigration/Index.html.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration: www.enteract.com/~mcri97.
- Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization: www.susps.org.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research: www.elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee: www.canadafirst.net.
- Terminology is important: www.illegalaliens.us.
- Voices of Citizens Together: www.americanpatrol.com.
- Council of Conservative Citizens: www.cofcc.org.
- Columnist Samuel Francis: www.samfrancis.net.
- The Biocentric Institute: www.iapm.org/biocenter.html.
- Stalking the Wild Taboo: www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/.
- ProjectUSA: www.projectusa.org.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies: www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population: www.flsuspop.org.
- Population and Sustainability: www.ecofuture.org/populat.html.
- American Renaissance: www.amren.com.
- *Mankind Quarterly:* www.mankind.org.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law): http://www.fedpub.com/fedpub/immigrat.htm.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- Center for Immigration Studies (CIS): center@cis.org.
- Negative Population Growth: npg@npg.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: ccn@igc.apc.org.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): caps@capsweb.org.

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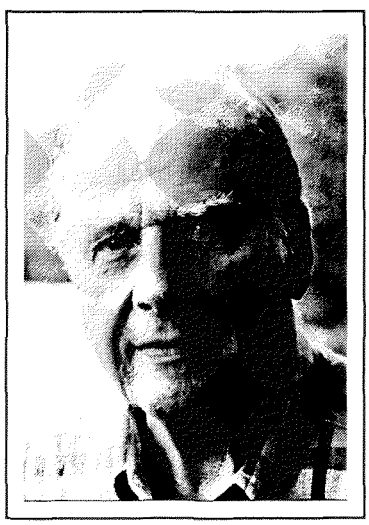
Sen. Gaylord Nelson

Seizing the conscience of a nation

by Guest Editor John F. Rohe

Absolutes are elusive in a universe of infinite variability. Environmentalists and conservationists would, however, seldom disagree with this absolute truth: Everyone in the movement today has been directly or indirectly influenced by Senator Gaylord Nelson.



It was seven years in the planning. After limping away from a slow start, Senator Nelson persisted against the odds. Through his energy and persistence, the date of April 22, 1970 seared an indelible mark on the conscience of a nation. He organized the first Earth Day. Twenty million demonstrators participated in this event. It was the largest demonstration in the history of our country. It will define Senator Nelson's legacy.

Those now inhabiting the tent of environmental concerns for the future can trace their intellectual heritage, in some way, to Earth Day 1970. They might have been drawn into the movement by its ethical imperatives. Perhaps they were swept into the fashionable nature of its grasp. If they were not yet in their impressionable years at the time, then they were influenced along the way by someone who was.

Senator Nelson rocked the conscience of a nation. He set a moral compass. Relationships between people and the land would never be the same. His enduring influence has deeply penetrated the heart of America, and the soul of anyone still striving to become a good ancestor.

Earth Day 1970 made politically feasible a stream of environmental legislation in the 1970's. Senator Nelson set the stage for a flurry of environmental activity. More importantly, he created public sentiment that made bipartisan support possible. The following is a highly abbreviated list of the environmental legislation that followed Earth Day 1970:

The 1972 Clean Water Act, 1973 Endangered Species Act, 1974 Safe Water Drinking Act, 1975 National Environmental Policy Act Amendments, 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, 1976 Toxic Substances Control Act, 1985 Superfund Amendments, and in 1988 a re-authorization of the Endangered Species Act. Additionally, there have been hundreds of individual public lands bills enacted since 1970.

Senator Nelson's legacy includes not only specific legislation, but also an environmental sensitivity pierced into our hearts.

While approaching the 10th decade of his life, Senator Nelson still challenges the conventional wisdom of the day. In his recent book, *Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise*, published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 2002, the Senator continues to unveil vulnerabilities in the unexamined assumptions of our day. At page 144, he addresses immigration as follows: "Never has an issue with such major consequences for this country been so ignored."

Senator Nelson: *The Social Contract* honors your foresight, applauds your convictions, celebrates your successes, and reveres the blessings of the future held in your heart. ■

***John F. Rohe** is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan with a long-standing concern for the environment. He is the author of* A Bicentennial Malthusian Essay: Conservation and the Indifference to Limits, *as well as a biography,* Mary Lou & John Tanton: A Journey into American Conservation. *Both books are available from The Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*

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The Founding Father of 'Earth Day'

An interview with Sen. Gaylord Nelson

by Guest Editor John F. Rohe

Today is Thursday, March 20, 2003. My name is John Rohe. On the phone is Senator Gaylord Nelson, founder of Earth Day 1970. Senator Nelson is at The Wilderness Society office in Washington, D.C.

John Rohe: Good morning, Senator.

Senator Gaylord Nelson: Good morning, John.

JFR: Thank you for making time for this interview for The Social Contract. *Senator, could you discuss the history of the first Earth Day in 1970?*

GN: Well, I had been concerned for several years that the political establishment of the country was paying no attention to the environment. This is the most important challenge we have. So back in 1962, I got the idea that if President Kennedy could be persuaded to do a national conservation tour, we would force the issue onto the national political agenda, where it had to be. In other words, it had to be on the national agenda with social security, employment, and all of the other major issues.

JFR: Senator, how did you begin working on this conservation tour?

GN: I went to Washington and discussed it with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. He liked the idea. The president liked the idea. So, he went on a national tour starting in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and then to the west.

JFR: How long was this conservation tour to last?

GN: As I recall, it was a five-day eleven state tour.

JFR: This would have taken quite a commitment from President Kennedy to take a week out of his life. Did you or others plan to accompany him on this conservation tour?

GN: He invited Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, Gene McCarthy of Minnesota, Joe Clark (Pennsylvania) and me to go with him on the first leg of the trip.

JFR: Was this aboard Air Force One*?*

GN: Yes.

JFR: Was the press invited?

GN: Yes. There were about 60 to 80 press and TV people aboard.

JFR: Did it generate publicity for conservation?

GN: Not much. On the day he selected to begin the tour, the Senate had scheduled a vote on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Since Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, Gene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey and I had to vote on the treaty, the President held up his plane until we had voted. Then we took off on *Air Force One* to start the tour. However, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was front-page news; most of the press didn't have an interest in the environment, nor did their publishers. So it didn't achieve what I had hoped. It did not force the issue onto the national political agenda. Another six years would pass before I thought of the idea for a national grassroots demonstration on behalf of the environment.

JFR: That would be the six years between 1963 and 1969. How did the planning for Earth Day actually begin?

GN: Well, in 1969, at a conference in Seattle, I announced that there would be national grassroots demonstrations on behalf of the environment. The

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response was overwhelming. The public was concerned about the deterioration around them; water pollution, air pollution, and so forth. And they responded enthusiastically.

JFR: Paul Ehrlich had already written The Population Bomb *in 1968. Rachel Carson's* Silent Spring *was released in the early 1960s. What other influences might have set the stage for this gracious public reception?*

GN: It was at the grassroots. Almost every single community in the Untied States had some environmental problem. You will recall that hundreds of swimming beaches were closed. In my state, Milwaukee closed its beaches because of pollution. Everybody had experienced air pollution, water pollution, and so forth. It was noticed by the public. They were concerned. But it eluded the political establishment. By tackling air pollution and water pollution, they would have to tackle the automobile industry, the steel industry, and every manufacturing industry. The political establishment was not prepared for this.

JFR: Was that true for both Democrats and Republicans at the time?

GN: It was totally bipartisan.

JFR: How many participated in the first Earth Day?

GN: On the evening news, Walter Cronkite estimated twenty million people came out on Earth Day to demonstrate their concerns.

JFR: Were you surprised by those numbers, 20 million?

GN: I never thought of it in numbers. I knew from speaking around the country that the public was concerned, and the political establishment was not. There was no political leadership on this issue. But finally, the political establishment saw twenty million people. When they saw the interest nationwide, then the political establishment was awakened. In the next ten years, the congress passed more important environmental legislation than had even been considered in our previous history.

JFR: So Earth Day basically made it politically feasible for politicians to embrace environmental causes.

GN: Yes.

JFR: And at that stage, was the reception for environmental causes equal, from your perspective, among the Republicans and the Democrats?

GN: The political parties were both expressing concerns, but when it got down to the nitty-gritty of passing legislation, more Democrats supported legislation to address the question of air pollution, water pollution, lead and gasoline, and so forth. But many Republicans were also concerned.

JFR: Was this, to your knowledge, the largest demonstration in the history of the country?

GN: It was reported as the largest demonstration.

JFR: Let's discuss your personal and political history. How did you get involved in politics?

GN: My father was a country doctor in a small town in the Northwest.

JFR: When were you born, Senator?

GN: Nineteen-sixteen. My father was a leader locally and leading supporter of old Bob LaFollett, young Bob LaFollett, and his brother Phil LaFollett. That was the progressive movement, and so I went to meetings with my father.

JFR: How old were you when you started attending these meetings?

GN: I can remember going with him to hear young Bob LaFollett, who succeeded his father when old Bob died in 1925. Young Bob succeeded him. About 1926, when I was ten years old, I remember traveling about nine miles with my father to hear young Bob LaFollett speak. My mother was very active in politics, and was the 11th Congressional District Chairman in Wisconsin. So I grew up with it and became interested.

JFR: Where did your personal history on environmental issues originate?

GN: It's sort of like asking somebody "When did you become interested in classical music?"

JFR: Musical inclinations could have even started in utero.

GN: My wife has a radio on in her sewing room upstairs, in the kitchen, and in the living room to the same classical music station. I don't think she could

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tell you when she became interested in classical music. I tell people I became interested in politics by osmosis.

JFR: And when did that osmosis begin for you, Senator?

GN: Well, when I was a kid, my hometown was Clear Lake, Wisconsin, with about 700 people. Now it has 1,000, but it was 700 and we had a lake at the end of main street, on the east side of town, and two little lakes on the west side. Little Clear Lake and Big Clear Lake were both rather small. And, so I spent my time fishing, hiking, and skating. Most of our entertainment was out-of-doors. That was before radio and TV.

JFR: You developed an appreciation for the natural world as a young child, having the privilege of growing up in an area of natural beauty.

GN: Right.

JFR: When did your first run for any political office?

GN: When I got out of the Army in 1946 I ran for the assembly in my county, and was narrowly defeated. Then I ran in '48 and moved to Madison where I had graduated from law school. I ran and was elected there in 1948. I served ten years in the legislature from the capitol city, and then four years as governor, and then 18 years in the U.S. Senate.

JFR: In what years did you serve as U.S. Senator from Wisconsin?

GN: 1963 to 1981.

JFR: So by the time you entered your first term as Senator in 1963, you were already quite sensitive to environmental issues, well ahead of Rachel Carson's book.

GN: Yes, I was interested in the environment quite a bit before Rachel Carson's book came out in '62.

JFR: Was the environment part of your first campaign platform when you ran for U.S. Senate in 1962?

GN: Yes, by then I considered the environment the most important challenge to society.

JFR: Did you also consider the environment the most important issue during the four years before that, when you served as governor of Wisconsin?

GN: Yes, the most important bills that I pushed as governor were environmental legislation.

JFR: When did you begin reading environmental literature?

GN: It preceded that. I read a lot of environmental stuff before I was elected to the state senate in '48.

JFR: Today, many would tend to think that Rachel Carson was on the cusp of a new movement. But you are taking this back to 1948. What was published at that time?

GN: Johnson and her husband wrote books on Africa. On my way overseas, we had a library aboard ship. They had all of the Johnson books on Africa, animals, and native tribes. I read them all. So, I was interested by then in the environment.

JFR: Were there also other childhood influences?

GN: I was also influenced by childhood experiences like the trap line that was used to catch rabbits. My mother refused to let me use leg-hold traps, so we had to use box traps. I was also influenced by wonders of the annual migration of mud turtles, snapping turtles, box turtles, from Little Clear Lake and Big Clear Lake across town to Mud Lake, where they would hibernate during the winter. It took them about three days to get from Little Clear Lake or Big Clear Lake to Mud Lake, and they had to cross Highway 35. Once in a while a car hit them. My friend Sherman Benson and I would pick them off the middle of the road and carry them across. For those who made it across safely and were headed for Mud Lake, we would sometimes pick them up and spin them around a half dozen times. Then, we would put them down facing back toward where they had come. In just a matter of seconds, they would stick their head out from under their shell and immediately turn around and head to Mud Lake, even though we placed them in tall grass and behind trees. They always headed directly for Mud Lake, which they couldn't see. I often wondered how they got there. I assume that was from the smell of the lake, like fish going back to the stream where they hatched. Sea turtles will return to wherever they hatched. They might travel a thousand miles around islands. I think they are smelling their way back. It just made me curious about how they would know.

JFR: As a result, you became the founder of the largest demonstration in the history of the country. Senator, you have recently taken an interest in

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immigration reform. I'd like to discuss that with you. What prompted your interest in immigration reform?

GN: Population is the greatest threat to the environment. When I was born in 1916, there were about 98 million people in the United States. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, I think we were at about 130 million. In the year 2000, we were at 281 million. Now at the current rate of increase, we'll go over 500 million sometime around mid-century. Then we will go to a billion in the second half of the next century or sooner. So when we go to 500 million, that will double our population mid century. What does that mean? That means we will have to double the total infrastructure of the country. Twice everything you can think of. Twice as many grade schools, high schools, colleges, twice as many hospitals, twice as many miles of road. Just double everything you can think of. And then when we go to a billion, we will join India and China as the only billion-population countries in the world, by then we will have to multiply by four the current total infrastructure.

JFR: Senator, with those daunting statistics, how do you explain that there are still a number of environmental groups that simply refuse to embrace immigration reform today?

GN: Every group that I know of, every environmental group, is concerned. But if you're going to stabilize the population, you have to reduce the immigration rate. Now we have a fertility rate in this country of about 2.1. That would stabilize our population, because that 2.1 is the replacement rate. But anyone who advocates reducing immigration is attacked as a racist, and none of the press is leading the campaign to reduce the immigration rate. At the Cairo conference in 1996, 170 countries of the world endorsed the position that every country should stabilize its own population. The U.S. voted for that. The only way that we could stabilize our population is with a significant reduction in immigration rates, or a very significant reduction in the fertility rate. Nobody politically, neither party, nor the president, wants to tackle the question of immigration because people charge them with racism. Nobody wants to be charged with that.

JFR: So that's even causing a number of the environmental groups to shy away from the issue.

GN: Oh yes, that's the sole cause.

JFR: So, Senator, how do we get back on track?

GN: I think the way to tackle the question is for the president to give an annual message to the Congress and the country on the state of the environment. If the president doesn't think it's important enough to give a message on the state of the environment, then the public isn't going to think that it is important. The next thing that should happen is that the Congress should conduct a series of hearings extending over the next several years on sustainability. That's the challenge. What will it take to achieve a sustainable society? The president and the Congress have to be responsible for educating the public on the consequences of doubling and quadrupling our population. There will be no habitat for song birds in 50 to 75 years and very little open space for humans to enjoy. The public ought to understand that. And there ought to be intelligent educational hearings on what are the consequences? What will be the consequences of doubling our population, and then going on to quadruple it, and then by the second half of the next century. If the Congress and the president don't mark that as an important issue, what's their responsibility? How do we expect the public to step out and say, "Mr. President, why don't you address this question?" So that's the only way it could be done in my view, politically without too high a risk to either political party. Who can object to education programs by the president on the state of our resources and by Congress conducting hearings on what is sustainable?

JFR: Well, Senator, your words are prophetic. Your sensitivity to these issues has always been well ahead of the times. On behalf of the readership of The Social Contract, *I want to thank you for your generous gift of time in sharing your insights and enthusiasm. It enables us to appreciate the vital history that you bring to this movement. I know that we are hearing from the person who made history, the founder of the turning point in our country, and thus the world, on issues of utmost importance. I sincerely want to thank you for taking this time and for your years of generous dedication.*

GN: Thank you. ■

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A Pioneer's Reflections

Book Review by John F. Rohe

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin was inflamed by flammables on the Cuyahoga River, He was outraged by choked landfills, river front waste disposal, marauding sludge, vanishing wetlands, toxic smog, congested federal lands, burgeoning solid waste streams, permeating pesticides, and exploding populations. Armed with a pen and ennobled by a spirit of unyielding patriotism, Sen. Nelson laid the framework for the first Earth Day on April 22, 1970. Through a seven year effort, he lavishly delivered these issues to the conscience of the country and beyond.

In 201 concise pages, Senator Nelson explains the history of mobilizing twenty million demonstrators on the first Earth Day as he sheds light on the drama that continues to unfold.

Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise
by Senator Gaylord Nelson
Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press
201 pages, $26.95

Senator Nelson explains the ill-fated Conservation Tour planned for President John F. Kennedy on September 24, 1963. The well-conceived, but poorly-timed, effort was overshadowed by the Senate's vote on ratification of a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty coincidentally scheduled for the same day.

As the ill-timed Conservation Tour fizzled, Senator Nelson continued pressing for an event to cultivate an environmental spirit. His letter of 1963, addressed to President Kennedy, set the stage. The letter is reproduced in Appendix I of the book. His eventual presentation to the 91st Congress on January 19, 1970 is found in Appendix II.

The book reflects upon the successes of Earth Day, including landmark legislation of the 1970s, such as the Environmental Protection Act, the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Water Act, Coastal Zone Management Act, Endangered American Wilderness Act, and many others. Senator Nelson's book also reflects on the continuing failings of Earth Day as the ongoing environmental crises continues to be exacerbated by population pressures.

On the heels of Paul Ehrlich's *Population Bomb* in 1968, the stage was set for population to be all the rage in 1970. Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, U.S. fertility rates plummeted from 3.5 children per women to 1.7. Surely this cannot all be attributed to the singlehanded efforts of Senator Nelson, but his influence was incontestably one of the prime moving forces.

Senator Nelson is not known to shrink from controversy. He has a track record of advancing an agenda based on critical thinking. Our ability to flee from reason has recently caused Senator Nelson to focus on immigration. The United States stands alone among its peers in the industrialized world with an explosive population growth rate. Ours is fueled not by high fertility, but rather by unprecedented levels of immigration. At page 144, Sen. Nelson points to the growing influx of immigrants and the on a nation's resource base. He observes that immigration undermines our ability to achieve replacement level birth rates.

He offers this observation on immigration: "Never has an issue with such major consequences for this country been so ignored. Never before has there been such a significant failure by the president, Congress, and the political infrastructure to address such an important issue. We are faced with the most important challenge of our time–the challenge of sustainability–and we refuse to confront it. It is the biggest default in our history." Senator Nelson laments the charges of "nativism" and "racism" leveled against proponents of immigration reform.

Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. penned the Foreword to this book. Kennedy is a staff attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), publisher of *OnEarth* Magazine. Curiously, the Summer 2002

***John F. Rohe** is guest editor of this issue of* The Social Contract.

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edition of *OnEarth* scoffed at respected allies of Senator Nelson in the immigration reform movement. The article was entitled: "When Hate Goes Green." This aptly titled essay was an acrimonious condemnation of persons involved in immigration reform.

Just how might Kennedy deal with the issue of "major consequences" which Senator Nelson finds to have been "ignored"? Would Kennedy's complimentary Foreword applaud Senator Nelson for courageously addressing the issue? Would Kennedy take exception to Nelson's position on the "ignored" issue, the "most important challenge of our time"? Or, would Kennedy fall into the convenient mode of just disregarding the issue? In short, Nelson's prediction that the issue would be "so ignored" was prophetic. Kennedy simply ignored the issue in his Foreword.

Senator Nelson can confidently reflect on his successes. But this book is not a self-serving tribute to a glowing success story. Environmental losses abound. They continue to plague our legacy. The ongoing loss is tragic and lamentable. If, however, any of us can still cling to unsullied waters, fresh air, and space to breathe free, we hold an eternal debt of gratitude to Senator Nelson. ■

The Taboo Topic

by Gaylord Nelson

The U.S. birthrate is at replacement level, or about 2.1 children per woman on average. This birthrate would bring about population stabilization over a relatively short time. Yet we won't stabilize our population as long as immigrants to the United States continue to add 1.3 million people to the population each year — 300,000 of them entering the country illegally. It is a fact that until we address this growing influx of immigrants, who account for about one third of our annual population growth, the population will continue to grow indefinitely despite the nation's success at achieving a replacement level birthrate.

Never has an issue with such major consequences for this country been so ignored. Never before has there been such a significant failure by the president, Congress, and the political infrastructure to address such an important problem. We are faced with the most important challenge of our time — the challenge of sustainability — and we refuse to confront it. It is the biggest default in our history.

The reason for this silence is simple. In order to bring a halt to exponential growth, the number of legal immigrants entering this country would have to match the number of emigrants leaving it — about 220,000 people per year. Yet, while federal actions have increased the immigration rate dramatically during the last four decades, any suggestion that the rate be decreased to some previously acceptable level is met with charges of "nativism," "racism," and the like. Unfortunately, such opposition has silenced much-needed discussion of the issue — recalling the political smear tactics of the late Senator Joe McCarthy. The first time around it was "soft on communism." This time the charge is "racism" because a significant number of immigrants are of Hispanic descent. Demagogic rhetoric of this sort has succeeded in silencing the environmental and academic communities and has tainted any discussion of population-immigration issues as "politically incorrect." As frustrating as it is to see the president and members of Congress running for cover on such a monumental issue, it is nothing short of astonishing to see the great American free press, with its raft of syndicated columnists, frightened into silence by political correctness.

The issue is not racism, nativism, or any other "ism,"

Excerpt from *Beyond Earth Day: Fulfilling the Promise* by Senator Gaylord Nelson, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, pp. 144-146. Reprinted by permission.

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however. The real issue: numbers of people and the implications for freedom of choice and sustainability as our numbers continue to grow. Population stabilization will be a major determinant of our future, how we live and in what condition; talk of it should not be muzzled by McCarthyism or any other demagogic contrivance. Rather, the issue must be brought forth and explored in public hearings and discussions precisely because it is a subject of great consequence.

Noting that the United States consumes more resources than any other country in the world, the task force of the President's Council on Sustainable Development warned of "enormous implications" for the environment, economic progress, and quality of life if U.S. population growth continues at current rates or higher. "Coupled with the technologies and resource consumption patterns that underlie the U.S. standard of living, population growth in America produces an environmental impact unparalleled by any other country at this time," the task force wrote in 1996.

Adding more and more people to the U.S. population base will do nothing to relieve the overload in this country, nor will it significantly relieve the overload on those nations sending immigrants. Indeed, if we don't set limits and stabilize our population, we'll continue to grow until we reach the point where conditions are as bad in the receiving countries as in the sending countries. For their part, overpopulated nations will fail to take the steps necessary to protect their own natural resources, and the global environmental will be increasingly stressed.

As Garrett Hardin, an author and professor emeritus of human ecology at the University of California, has said: "Admitting immigrants from overpopulated countries amounts to taking on their problems which they haven't solved. If we take on their problems, they will never solve them by other means."

The fact that lower birth rates are found in industrialized countries where women have access to education, job opportunities, and family planning services means we should do everything we can to provide education, family planning, economic advice, and technical aid and assistance to those countries where such opportunities are lacking.

But we also must consider the causes of the refugees' flight and see therein the environmental and social conflicts that often accompany overpopulation. Many immigrants to the United States are refugees because environmental problems are not being dealt with in their native countries. For example, a large number of immigrants in recent years are from places with diminishing croplands — Central and South America and the Philippines, for example. Others come from nations such as India, where the ecological systems have been ravaged.

Indeed, many of the world's violent conflicts are heavily influenced by — if not caused by — overpopulation and environmental mismanagement of agriculture, water, and forestry resources. Environment and overpopulation problems often cause these resources to be in short supply, a tenuous situation that leaves the populace vulnerable to those using ethnic and religious differences to gain power.

We don't often think of warfare, civil war, and violent internal conflicts as being caused by excessive population. The political interpretation and media reports in the United States typically characterize these conflicts as religious, ethnic, tribal, or peasant disputes, or the result of some failing in the moral status of the cultures in which they occur. Were there not overwhelming environmental problems in these nations, however, many of these conflicts would be smaller or wouldn't have happened at all.

That population will stabilize sometime is inevitable. Unfortunately, if left to its own devices, this stabilization will occur when crowding, crime, inconvenience, noise, polluted air, congestion, and food and water shortages confront us wherever we turn. ■

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The Environmental Future

How do we get there from here?

by Gaylord Nelson

Thirty years ago on April 22, 1970, Earth Day burst onto the political scene. Twenty million people demonstrated their concern over what was happening to the natural world around them – polluted rivers, lakes, trout streams, ocean shores, the air we breathe and much more. The people cared, but the political establishment seemed oblivious to it all. The specific objective of Earth Day was to stir up a public demonstration big enough to shake up the establishment and force the environmental issue onto the national political agenda. Earth Day was a truly astonishing grassroots explosion. It achieved everything one could hope for. At long last, the environment was on the national political agenda, where it will remain as a constant reminder for this and future generations.

This brief commentary speaks to the fundamental challenge of our time – that challenge is to forge a sustainable society. A sustainable society may be described in several ways: A society whose activities do not exceed the carrying capacity of its resource base; or a society that manages its environmental and resource systems so that their ability to support future generations is not diminished. Every nation on the planet faces the same challenge. And, no nation has yet succeeded in designing an environmentally and economically sustainable society.

Since the first Earth Day, we have tried a lot of things. We have learned and achieved a lot, but we still have a lot to do. It has been a kind of piecemeal approach to the environmental challenge. We tackled the most obvious and threatening problems – air pollution, water pollution, etc. Even after 30 years there is still much to do in these areas. We have learned that almost all environmental problems are either preventable – or at least manageable. With this new knowledge we now stand at the threshold of a "Golden Opportunity" to change the course of history. We can do it by turning away from the uneconomic practice of fueling our economy by consuming our natural capital. Forging an economically sustainable society is the practical and profitable alternative. We know all we need to know to launch a long-term program that will lead us to sustainability.

After three decades of discussion, debate, legislation and education, there has evolved a new level of understanding and concern over what is happening around us. The public is prepared and, in the end, will support those measures necessary to forge a sustainable society if the President and Congress present a well-documented and convincing case. Failing to achieve sustainability is not an acceptable option, That would be a disaster for future generations.

Political Leadership: The Only Direct Path to Sustainability

The Presidency and the Congress are the political institutions with the position and authority to take advantage of this opportunity before it is too late.

We have finally come to understand that the real wealth of a nation is its air, water, soil, forests, minerals, rivers, lakes, oceans, scenic beauty, wildlife habitats and biodiversity. Take this resource base away, and all that is left is a wasteland. That's the whole economy. That is where

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***Gaylord Nelson**, former Senator from Wisconsin and the founder of Earth Day, gave this speech at the Conservation Summit, Michigan State University, September 20, 2001.*

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all the economic activity and all the jobs come from. These biological systems contain the sustaining wealth of the world. All around the planet these systems are under varying degrees of stress and degradation in almost all places, including the United States. As we continue to degrade them, we are consuming our capital. And, in the process, we erode living standards and compromise the quality of our habitat. We are veering down a dangerous path. We are not just toying with nature; we are compromising the capacity of natural systems to do what they need to do to preserve a livable world. We can - and must - forge a sustainable society, but it will take more vigorous leadership in the future. Fortunately, the ranks of the concerned and committed are rapidly expanding. The ultimate goal is to nurture a society imbued with a guiding environmental ethic. That ethic has been evolving, and ultimately, it will save us from many costly blunders. The Brutish jurist, Lord Moulton, summarized the matter in one sentence – "The measure of a civilization is the degree of its compliance with the unenforceable." That is our goal.

In a dramatic and sobering joint statement (1992), the United States National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London, two of the world's leading scientific bodies, addressed the state of the planet in the following words:

> *If current predictions of population growth prove accurate and patterns of human activity on the planet remain unchanged, science and technology may not be able to prevent either irreversible degradation of the environment or continued poverty for much of the world...*
>
> *...Sustainable development can be achieved, but only if irreversible degradation of the environment can be halted in time...*

Late in the day, it has finally dawned on the political establishments around the world that environmental deterioration threatens both economic and environmental stability. This prompted the international community to organize two conferences on sustainability: 1992 in Rio and 1994 in Cairo. Next was the International Conference on Global Warming. These conferences were the first formal manifestations of serious international concern over the challenge of sustainability.

Global Warming – The Transition from Fossil Fuels to Solar Energy and Conservation

We can begin the process of forging a sustainable society now. We can begin the long and necessary transition from fossil fuels to solar energy; we can reduce air and water pollution to a level this is easily managed by nature; we can stop over drafting the supply of ground waters, depleting our fisheries, deforesting the land, poisoning the land with pesticides, eroding the soil, degrading the public lands, urbanizing farm lands, and destroying wetlands.

We can do this and much more. One thing is certain – we cannot afford to delay fixing problems here at home while we wait for the rest of the world to act. We can help, but we cannot wait. As a nation we have it in our power to do most things necessary to achieve sustainability, but the longer we delay, the more we undermine the livable quality of the environment and the resource base that undergirds the economy.

How Do We Make the Transition to Sustainability?

The President and the Congress have the key leadership roles, while the public has the key support role. The failure of any one of these elements spells failure of the enterprise. The challenge is to forge a society that is economically and environmentally sustainable. Since this is primarily a political challenge, we start with those two political institutions which share the key to the whole enterprise. Success or failure will turn on what kind of leadership comes from the President and the Congress. To be successful, their joint leadership must be vigorous and sustained over a period of several years.

The Presidency

To crank up the political machinery for a move down the path to sustainability, someone has to spark the engine. The President is in the best position to do that. He owns the bully pulpit;

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he is the chief educator of the nation, the superstar, the only one who can command top billing in the papers and on television and radio, whenever he wishes.

We have come a long way in the past thirty years. Opinion polls show upwards of eighty percent (80%) of the U.S. population is concerned about the state of the environment. It is now time for the key political leadership, the President and the Congress, to join in a non-partisan effort to design a plan of action for the future. It took three decades of effort to get where we are and it will take at least that long to get to where we want to go. An annual *State of the Environment* address to the Congress, coupled with regular Congressional hearings on sustainability, would inspire the kind of public dialogue that must precede major decisions on controversial matters.

"Public opinion polls show overwhelming concern for the environment..."

THE FIRST ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON THE STATE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

While there is a well-established tradition of an annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union, there is no tradition of a message on the State of the Environment. This, despite the fact that the actual "State of the Union" is totally dependent on the state of the environment and its resource base.

Presenting the Congress with an annual State of the Environment message on sustainability would start a national dialogue on sustainability.

The Congress

EDUCATION AND LEGISLATION

The Congress is the other key player. Its primary and critical role will be a combination of education and legislation. Public opinion polls show overwhelming concern for the environment and support for whatever measures may be required to maintain a clean environment. However, what particular measures may be required is not broadly understood. Until it is, the public won't support – and the Congress won't pass – the necessary legislation. This means several years of hearings, debate and legislative enactments involving the broad spectrum of issues that must be addressed on the way to sustainability. In many ways, this may appear to be an onerous and intimidating challenge because it will extend over considerable time and involve much debate and controversy. However, the only rational choice is to begin the process without delay.

To make this undertaking succeed will require a cooperative non-partisan effort unlike any other in our peacetime history. The state of the environment, and its impact upon the economy and the quality of life, needs to be much better understood. This is the function of the hearings which should be held at least once or twice a month over the next several years.

Of necessity, sustainability hearings must range over all significant issues on the environmental spectrum. That will include exploring: How we make a transition from our overwhelming reliance on fossil fuels to a significant reliance on solar energy; how we move to restore ocean fisheries; how we reduce air and water pollution to a level manageable by nature; how we preserve our magnificent heritage of public lands; how we shrink our excessive reliance on herbicides and pesticides; how we stop over-drafting ground water, reduce soil erosion; and how we preserve wetlands, forests and biodiversity.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS ON SUSTAINABILITY

Congressional hearings on sustainability could start almost any place. My choice would be public lands because almost everyone has some familiarity with National Parks, National Forests, wildlife refuges or BLM lands. These lands are a rare heritage of almost one million square miles totaling about 26 percent of the U.S. landmass. No other nation on Earth preserved such a vast mosaic of mountains, wetlands, lakes, rivers, seashores, islands, plains, forests, grasslands and deserts. Within these bounds, a sample of almost every major American landlord is represented. These are the only large expanses

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of natural areas left in the lower forty-eight states. Here are lands that would be recognized by our forefathers, lands inhabited by wildlife that cannot survive elsewhere, a rare condition of quiet undisturbed by man-made noises, and immense vistas of scenic beauty that cannot be found any other place. If this is not a rare asset deserving our most caring attention, then there is no such place.

Public Lands

NATIONAL PARKS – THE BEST IDEA WE EVER HAD

Early in the 20th century, when the national park system was new in this country and unknown in any other, James Bryce, an Englishman, characterized it as "the best idea America ever had." Yellowstone National Park was created in 1872, the world's first national park. Since then, more than one hundred countries have established national parks.

The national park system was formally established by the 1916 Organic Act and now encompasses some 80 million acres. The Organic Act specified that the parks be managed with the purpose of conserving –

> *...the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.*

What a wonderful thing it would be if the park system were managed in compliance with the spirit and letter of the law. Sadly, it is not. Over many years, a succession of Presidents and Congresses have defaulted in their responsibilities and permitted all kinds of incompatible activities to proliferate, much to the detriment of the system. Obviously, those activities that adversely affect wildlife, pollute the air, destroy the peace and quiet of the parks, and otherwise degrade the enjoyment of these special places, violate the mandate to leave these parks "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

THE BEST IDEA WE EVER HAD IS RAPIDLY FALLING APART

The whole national park system is in varying degrees of serious decline. Park visitations have ballooned from 30 million in 1950 to almost 300 million today, resulting in traffic jams and noise pollution. Automobile traffic should be drastically reduced or eliminated in most parks. Snowmobiles are causing air pollution and noise pollution in Yellowstone National Park. At Yosemite, several thousand visitors stay in cabins and tents, creating a virtual city that has been described as "looking like downtown Los Angeles at midnight." In Grand Canyon National Park, 100,000 commercial tourism flights a year fly down the canyon, disturbing wildlife and the peace and quiet of that special place. In 1985, then-Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona testified that the noise in the canyon is "equivalent to being in downtown Phoenix at rush hour...and that's not what a national park is for." Contrast this with what Zane Gray wrote on the Grand Canyon in 1906: "One feature of this ever-changing spectacle never changes: its eternal silence."

This is just a quick peek at what is happening to the crown jewels of our public land system. At the current rate of degradation, the National Parks as we know them will be gone within thirty years. They will be modified theme parks or Disneylands. The same thing is happening to our National Forests and the Bureau of Land Management lands – only much worse because they don't have the legal level of protection that the National Parks do. These lands are being degraded by all kinds of four-wheel drive vehicles, motorcycles, snowmobiles, jet skis, and more.

Doesn't all this degradation at least justify extensive hearings to inform the Congress and the public what is happening to twenty-six percent (26%) of the United States' land base? It is my view that the use of off-road vehicles on public lands should be phased out and that cattle grazing should be re-evaluated and reduced or phased out wherever it is compromising the resource base. This is controversial stuff and begs for public discussion.

HEARINGS ON POPULATION

What will America be like when the population doubles from about 280 million to over 520 million within the next 75 to 80 years or sooner? If we permit that to happen, it will have a dramatic

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and pervasive impact on almost all aspects of our living condition. It will mean, for example, that we will have to double the total infrastructure of the United States within the next seven or eight decades – that means we will be dealing with twice as many cars, traffic jams, parking lots, paved roads, planes and air fields, schools, colleges, prisons, apartment houses; a tremendous loss of agricultural land, open spaces, wildlife habitat, areas of scenic beauty; loss of all kinds of freedoms – freedom to move about with ease, to find places free of noise, crowding and people pressure of all kinds.

"Shouldn't there at least be a national dialogue on the issue...?"

Then think of what our country will be like when the population doubles again to over a billion sometime in the next century. If you think that won't happen, think again. Why won't it happen?

If you think the President and the political parties of the next century won't be in the same competition for pro-immigration votes that they are today, tell us why. Is it because they will be more concerned about the future of our nation than the politicians are today?

Shouldn't there at least be a national dialogue on the issue of continued population growth and what it means for the future? Isn't this a question of "The Public's Right to Know?"

The President and the Congress are making decisions that will radically transform the nature of life in the United States. Shouldn't we at least have a national dialogue on what this means to our future? Extended public hearing would serve that purpose admirably.

The Rockefeller Report to the President and the Congress in 1972 concluded that there would be no benefit to the country from further population growth and recommended that we move to stabilize our population. Since that report, the United States' population has ballooned by another 70 million.

If stabilization is to be achieved, it will require a substantial reduction in the immigration rate, and that is attacked as racist by some pro-immigration groups. This has silenced almost everyone, including many distinguished newspapers and other journals of opinion. Joseph McCarthy, from my state of Wisconsin, used exactly the same tactics – it is now called McCarthyism.

Since population density affects all aspects of our lives in quite significant ways, it should not be driven out of the market place of public discussion by McCarthyism or any other demagogic contrivance.

Surely, this is an issue that ought to be explored in public hearings.

Conclusion

THIS GENERATION OF POLITICAL LEADERS HAS A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH A PROGRAM THAT WILL REVERBERATE DOWN THROUGH HISTORY

There have been two international conferences on sustainability during the past eight years. Finally, the international political community has come to recognize the threat of environmental deterioration. This is an important step. However, we cannot afford to delay addressing our own environmental problems while we wait for the international community. Now that we know that forging a sustainable society is the key to our future well-being, and that of succeeding generations, where and how do we start? This is simple enough: It must all start with the President and the Congress because the legal authority is in their hands alone.

Most of us have many chances to do the right thing during our lives, but very few among us are afforded the opportunity to be a key player in launching a program that will reverberate down through history as an act of vision and statesmanship. The President and this Congress have that chance.

Next year will be that Golden Opportunity for the President and the Congress to heed Bismarck's elegant observation when he said: "The best a statesman can do is listen to the rustle of God's mantle through history and to try to catch the hem of it for a few steps." ■

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The Politics of Population

An Earth Day report for Public Radio

by Anna Solomon-Greenbaum

The following is a transcript of the "Living On Earth" segment of May 23, 2003 on National Public Radio.

CURWOOD: Back in 1970, population control was a popular topic in speeches on the first Earth Day. After all, scientist Paul Ehrlich had just published his groundbreaking book, *The Population Bomb*. And the group Zero Population Growth, which linked population to environmental degradation, had just been formed. But over the years, the issue of population has almost disappeared from the agenda of many environmental groups. *Living on Earth*'s Anna Solomon-Greenbaum explains why that might be.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: On Earth Day this year, leaders of some of the nation's leading environmental groups held a press conference in Washington. This group of suit-clad, mostly white male activists talked about a range of tangible and, some would argue, donation-friendly issues, from wilderness protection to super-fund clean-ups. The one thing they didn't talk about was population. That chore was left to the gray-haired founder of Earth Day, Gaylord Nelson, who brought up the subject at the National Press Club.

NELSON: The ultimate key to sustainability is population. When I was born in 1916, the population of the United States was 98 million.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: That number today is almost 300 million. And even though fertility rates here are almost low enough to stabilize the population, it's expected to nearly double over the next century. That projected growth is largely due to immigrants and their children. And that may be why most major environmental groups tend to avoid the topic.

CHRISTIAN: When you start to talk about immigration policy, reducing the level of immigration or stabilizing U.S. population, you're accused of racism, elitism.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: Johnette Christian is founder of Mainers for Immigration Reform.

CHRISTIAN: You're accused of xenophobia, nativism. These are all the words that we use to silence any discussion around stabilizing our population and reducing immigration.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: Consider what happened in 1998 when some Sierra Club members called for a vote on whether the group should lobby to reduce the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. every year. Harry Pachon, president of the Tomas Rivera Policy Institute, a think-tank focused on Latino issues, says Latinos and environmentalists could be natural allies. But the Sierra Club vote challenged that relationship.

PACHON: I think it really raised some eyebrows. It was as if, you too are joining the fray against the Hispanic community. Because you have to take the context of the period in which the vote was taken. It came within four years of Proposition 187, the restriction on immigrant assistance. And the whole tenor of the time was anti-immigrant rhetoric and immigrant bashing, per se.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: The Sierra Club measure to cut immigration was eventually voted down. Still, almost 40 percent of Sierra Club members voted for tighter restrictions on immigration, including some heavy weight environmental

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thinkers like Gaylord Nelson, E.O. Wilson, and Lester Brown, founder of the WorldWatch Institute. Cut away the rhetoric, says Brown, and the fact is more people use more resources and produce more waste. Unless population is stabilized, he says, ecosystems won't survive.

BROWN: I think systems are going to be breaking down because of water shortages, severe water shortages. And if we look into future water shortages, we're probably also looking into future food shortages.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: However uncomfortable, Brown says, today's environmental activists need to face the issues of population and immigration at home, and call for a national policy that sets limits on growth.

BROWN: If we had one, then I think it would enable us to think a bit more rationally and a bit less emotionally about some of these issues.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: But that's a slippery political tightrope for today's environmental leaders to walk. Vicky Markham directs the Center for Environment and Policy. Not only is immigration a touchy topic, but also Markham, who's coordinating a state-by-state study on the population/environment equation, says the data simply isn't in yet on whether immigrants are having a negative impact on the environment.

MARKHAM: In my view, there is no good, solid body of evidence that's backed up by research, the data, or the analysis to clearly demonstrate links. So, they would be going out on a limb, for which they could be attacked.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: Annette Souder of the Sierra Club says there's another problem if environmental groups equate immigration with environment degradation. They ignore another sensitive subject, the responsibility current U.S. citizens must accept for over-consuming.

SOUDER: We need to think about the fact we are five percent of the world's population in the United States, and we consume 25 percent of the world's resources right now.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: There's almost a sort of generation gap between the 1970s first wave environmentalists who see over-population primarily as a problem of statistics, and current spokespeople who know that race, ethnicity, and class are specters that can't be avoided in any discussion of the topic today. Bob Engleman, with Population Action International, falls somewhere between the two groups. He says the key to bridging the gap lies in finding a new way to frame the conversation.

ENGLEMAN: The new generation, the new leaders in the environmental field are going to find they really don't have any choice but to take these issues on and to try to frame them in terms that people can relate to, terms like, what is fair? What is inclusive and not exclusive? What doesn't demonize one group of people or make another group seem to be really good actors, when we're all in this together.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: Engleman was disappointed at the 2002 Summit on Sustainable Development to see the population issue reduced to what he describes as, "sideshows at the circus." That was in contrast to the first Summit in 1992, when an entire chapter was devoted to population and the environment. But Engleman envisions a shift back.

ENGLEMAN: There will be a need in the next few years as population continues to grow, as it continues to be more evident in a number of debates, particularly water, access to fresh water, climate, and the loss of biodiversity. It's going to be increasingly obvious to people who are paying attention to these issues how important population is.

SOLOMON-GREENBAUM: While the environmental community decides how to address immigration and population, other groups are moving on the issue and using the environment as a talking point. In February, Republican Congressman Tom Tancredo, introduced a bill to sharply cut immigration. A major reason, he says: curbing sprawl.

For "Living on Earth," I'm Anna Solomon-Greenbaum in Washington. ■

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Cashing In the Chips

Is it time to postpone the age of retirement for American workers?

by John F. Rohe

Paul Erhlich's *Population Bomb* was a call to arms in 1968. His prophecy of congestion and resource depletion motivated a generation in their child-bearing years to address exponential population growth. This generation responded to the call. Population became the central focus on our first Earth Day in 1970. Concerns over population growth permeated the media and seared an indelible mark on the collective conscience of a nation.

The U.S. fertility rate dropped as a result of environmental awareness of population pressures and other factors. These other factors included improved family planning, female empowerment, urbanization, increasing costs of child-rearing, and rising college expenses. Our concerns reflected an interest to leave a more dignified future.

Between the mid-1960's and the mid-1970's, U.S. fertility rates plummeted from 3.5 children per women to 1.7. Replacement level fertility is 2.1 children per woman. In other words, if every two parents produced an average of 2.1 children, then the nation would stabilize. At 3.5 children, the population would continue to explode. At 1.7, a generation of children no longer fills their parents' shoes.

Fertility reductions eventually lead to an "aging population." This is documented in a study by the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs. The UN study is found in a booklet entitled *Replacement Migration: Is it A Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* It can also be accessed at <www.un.org/esa/population/migration.htm>.

***John F. Rohe**, an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan, was in his impressionable years on Earth Day, 1970. He expresses gratitude to Leon Bouvier for offering demographic assistance on this essay.*

Table I.2. of the UN study reveals what happens when the populous baby boomers decided to have fewer children. In 1995, every pensioner in the United States was supported by 5.21 workers. The "dependancy ratio" of pensioners to workers was a favorable 5:21 to 1. The mid-range projection for 2050 reveals only 2.82 workers per pensioner. By reducing the number of births in the 1970s, each retiree in 2050 will impose almost twice the load upon each worker. The rising costs of ever-expanding medical care will also add to the workers' burden.

The UN study points out that there are essentially two ways to lighten the load for workers in 2050: we can postpone the retirement age or we can increase the population with more workers.

Just how far will we need to postpone our retirement age to preserve the 1995 dependency ratio between workers and retirees? According to the UN study (Table IV.10.), by 2050 a retirement age of 74.3 years will preserve the 1995 dependency ratio. And just how much immigration will be needed to preserve the ratio if we would insist on retiring at age 65? According to the UN study, between 1995 and 2050, an additional 593 million immigrants would be required to maintain the ratio if the retirement age is to remain constant at 65. That comes to almost 11 million immigrants per year (i.e., about ten times the unprecedented wave of immigration now fueling our resource depletion and congestion)! The United States would have to become a nation of a billion and as populous as China and India for the baby boomers to claim the same retirement age and dependency ratio as their parents.

The UN study identifies a defining challenge for the nation once committed to reducing congestion and preserving natural resources. It specifically imposes a pivotal decision on the generations having reduced their fertility in the 1970's and beyond: Will they maintain an allegiance to the bedrock principles of

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Earth Day 1970? Will they be willing to roll up their collective sleeves and postpone their retirement age? Will they allow the U.S. population to begin a slow decline, with a view toward stabilizing at some future point? Or will they insist on retiring at 65 and lay the groundwork for the U.S. to become the next billion person nation?

The unprecedented rate of immigration since 1990 lulls us into a Ponzi scheme. Each succeeding generation strives to sustain itself on the shoulders of ever-burgeoning recruits lodged in the queue behind it. We teeter on the brink of a new day for the nation. Will we choose to become good ancestors by postponing the retirement age? Sixty-five was established by German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck when the world's first social security system was created in the 1880's. Life expectancy then was 45 years. By contrast, today's 65 year-old retiree looks forward to decades of social security support.

According to Hardin's Law "We can never do merely one thing." When the 1970's child-bearing generation decided to leave a less congested future, it couldn't do just one thing. It did not just plan for less congestion. It did not just conserve natural resources. This generation also established a test of its resolve in the elderly years. Will it make a lasting peace with its founding principles by postponing the retirement age? Or will it cash in the chips? ■

New Paper on Sustainability by John Cairns Available Online

Professor John Cairns, Jr. has prepared a paper entitled "Integrating top-down/bottom-up sustainability strategies: an ethical challenge." The abstract reads as follows:

"Sustainable use of the planet will require multiple sustainability strategies, which will range from the entire system, the entire Earth, to the local or regional. Strategies starting at the highest system level are referred to as 'top-down,' and strategies designed for components, local or regional, are referred to as 'bottom-up.' Doubtless, several intermediate levels will eventually be required, although the number is far from clear at this time. It is abundantly clear that both top-down and bottom-up strategies must be integrated effectively or neither will work well. Furthermore, there will be significant uncertainties at both levels of organization, which will be reduced as evidence accumulates. However, sustainability is too complex and dynamic to reduce scientific uncertainty to a level desired by most decision-makers. A greater emphasis on sustain-ethics and value judgments will improve communications between those working at different organizational levels since humankind's wish to leave a habitable planet for its descendants and those of other life forms is clearly a value judgment."

The full text of the paper is available free of charge at http://esep.de/articles/esep/2003/E26.pdf. The website is provided by Ethics in Science and Environmental Politics (ESEP). John Cairns, Jr., Ph.D., is University Distinguished Professor of Environmental Biology Emeritus in the Department of Biology at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061.

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California's Population Growth, 1990-2002:

Study reveals virtually all growth is from immigration

Summary and Comments

by Diana Hull, Ph.D.

Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS), a non-profit corporation based in Santa Barbara, California, reports the findings of its new two-part research on the reasons for the state's accelerating and unsustainable growth.

The first study, by demographer Leon Bouvier, is based on information from the California Department of Finance; the second study, by environmental consultant Dick Schneider, combines state statistics with reports from the Census Bureau, the former INS (now the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services) and research on domestic migration.

This Demographic Data Report was commissioned by Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS), © June 2003, and is reprinted by permission.

Among the findings:

- These studies end definitively any possible argument about the relative contribution of immigration versus unplanned or unwanted births to California's overpopulation problems. Total Fertility Rate for the state has reached replacement level at 2.1 and virtually all population growth in California is due to direct immigration and births to immigrants.

- Using official state figures alone, Dr. Bouvier concluded that immigration was responsible directly and indirectly for 98 percent of California's increasing population, a trend that continued through 2002. Direct immigration was responsible for about 57 percent of California's growth in the decade 1990-2000, and the rest came from births to foreign-born women.

- Combining state and federal sources, and independent research, Dick Schneider found that 100 percent of California's growth was the result of immigration and immigrant births, and that migration from other states was no longer a factor in California's present size. He found the contribution of immigration was actually larger than reported by the State of California, because the Census Bureau admitted undercounts of both legal and illegal immigrants.

- No matter whether single or multiple databases were used, there was only a 2 percent difference in the results of the two studies, giving the overall conclusions high reliability.

Although immigration is virtually the sole cause of California's continuing growth surge, that fact is obscured whenever "births to foreign-born women" are identified euphemistically as "natural increase" *(Public Policy Institute of California,* 2002) or as "births to new Californians" *(Los Angeles Times,* May 3, 2003). This language conveys the inaccurate impression that over 40 percent of the state's population gains are caused *by Californians having more children.* The persistence with which public policy groups and media use these misleading phrases is an obstacle to the public's understanding of the reasons for growth and thwarts the taking of appropriate remedial action.

Does "births to *new* Californians" mean *"new* births to Californians" or births to new residents of California from another country or even another state? Besides confusing readers trying to grasp the cause of the state's unmanageable size, we can wonder whether terms like "natural increase," when used in this context, are detached demographic descriptions, or reluctance to defy Mexico's assertions that its citizens

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have a right of residence beyond their own borders. When births to immigrants are called "natural increase," that implies that the US and Mexico have, as a practical matter, merged and bolsters the claim that the northward migration is "structural, inevitable and unstoppable."

If the "natural increase" of established Californians was, indeed, the reason for growth, then only family planning programs would likely be able to reduce those numbers. While limiting unwanted births in this state is a laudable goal, which CAPS supports, as far as California's increasing population is concerned, it is largely irrelevant.

	CALIFORNIA POPULATION GROWTH	July 1, 1990 to July 1, 2000	
	Native-Born	Foreign-Born	Total
1990 Population (7/01)			29,828,000 (est)
Births	3,073,759	2,514,894	5,588,653
Deaths	-1,661,420	-553,807	-2,215,226
Net Domestic Migration	-1,322,319	-251,870	-1,574,189
Immigration	NA	2,408,762	2,408,762
2000 Population (7/01)			34,036,000 (est)
Population Growth	90,020	4,117,979	4,208,000 (est)
Percent Share	2.0	98.0	100.00

Table 1.

The state has achieved replacement level fertility because both established residents and immigrants from all other groups-Asians, Blacks, Whites, American Indians and Pacific Islanders-are all now reproducing well under replacement. Nevertheless, the births to all Californians as a component of growth would have been smaller if not for the 3.25 Total Fertility Rate of Hispanics. Continuing immigration primarily from Mexico and Central America will continue higher than average birthrates for this segment of the population for many generations to come.

Despite replacement level fertility, Leon Bouvier reports that California made its largest population jump in history – 13 percent in the 1990s, adding 4,208,000 people (more than the total population of Ireland). In the 2-year period from April 1, 2000, to July 1,2002, California's population increased by 1,244, 385. If we continue this 1.74 percent growth each year, the state will double its size in 40 years.

But the total contribution from immigration during the decade must factor in not only births to immigrants minus deaths, but domestic out-migration by both natives and the foreign born moving to other states. Dick Schneider's research considers these issues. In CAPS' Study No.2, he concludes that immigration accounts for 100 percent of California's growth. This is partly because the native-born population only increased by 2 percent over the decade, a result of so many native-born residents leaving the state.

The use of data from different branches of government brings additional credibility to the CAPS studies. State and federal agencies are not always in agreement. The US Census Bureau maintains that people are still leaving the state, while the California Department of Finance asserts that there is now a net inflow to California from other parts of the country. But Schneider points out that even if that flow has reversed and the portion of growth attributable to immigration in the future will be smaller, the amount and rate of population growth will be even higher.

Mass immigration is the cause of most of California's most pressing problems: too many people living in poverty, the shortage of schoolrooms and teachers, the closing of hospitals and the impact of overpopulation on biodiversity. For all the above reasons, California's present and predicted future size is a wakeup call for the state and the nation.

Unfortunately for politically-correct reasons, elected officials, most foundations and university-funded population programs are reluctant to encourage a halt to overpopulation if reducing immigration is even part of the solution. Thus, change in immigration policy requires the involvement of a better-informed public, and these studies were undertaken with that mission in mind.

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California's Population Growth 1990-2000

by Leon Bouvier, Ph.D.

According to the state of California's Demographic Division of the Department of Finance, the state's population was estimated to be 29,828,000 July 1, 1990. It rose to an estimated 34,036,000 in 2000. Thus the population increased by 4,208,000 between July 1, 1990 and July 1,2000.[1] To gain a better perspective on the meaning of this number, consider the fact that all the northeastern states from Maine to Virginia, combined, gained less than 4 million people over the same period.

This begs the question: How did California grow so rapidly? The answer is deceptively simple: immigration. Actual direct immigration accounted for about 57 percent of all growth over this decade. The two-generation indirect immigration (i.e. including the births to foreign-born mothers) explained an incredible 98 percent of California's growth between 1990 and 2000. (See Table 1 for detailed statistics).

What about births and deaths? Aren't there many more births than deaths? Yes. Reproductive change (or natural increase as it is often called) explains some of the growth. Let's clarify this. Three factors determine population change: people are born; people die and in between some people move domestically (e.g. from Maine to California or vice-versa) and some people move across international borders (e.g. From Mexico to the United States). To better understand "how California grew so rapidly?" we turn again to very recent data (January 2003) prepared by the Demographic division of California's Department of Finance.

Over that ten-year period, there were 5,588,653 births and 2,215,226 deaths in the state.[2] If only births and deaths (i.e. reproductive change or natural increase) were involved, the state's population would total 33,201,427 in 2000.[3] (This is based on the Department of Finance estimate of 29,828,000 on July 1, 1990). Moreover, people move quite a bit in the United States and this is an important factor in determining population growth. Over the just-completed decade, 1,574,189 more people left the state than entered from other states. Let's enter that into our calculations. Subtracting this number from 33,201,427 gives us a July 2000 population of 31,657,238. But, as noted above, the estimated July 2000 population is 34,036,000. This suggests that immigration to the state was 2,408,762. We conclude from these data that direct immigration accounted for about 57 percent of all growth in the state.

As high a proportion as that is, it remains a direct measure. Immigrants have children after they move to California. Of the 5,588,653 births between 1990 and 2000, 45 percent were to foreign-born women. We estimate that 25 percent of all deaths were to immigrants (553,807). If you look at the two-generation indirect impact of immigration on population growth, it is clear that the indirect two-generation contribution to population growth accounted for 98 percent of California's growth between 1990 and 2000.[4] To this we could add those illegal immigrants who were not counted in the Census of 2000.[5] That number may well be larger than anticipated. The Census Bureau, for example, estimates that nationwide international migration between April 1 and December 31,2002, amounted to 3,279,240. This is far greater than any earlier estimates by the Bureau and, while the report doesn't distinguish between legal and illegal, clearly this suggests significant increase in the latter.

"The two-generation indirect immigration (i.e. including the births to foreign-born mothers) explained an incredible 98 percent of California's growth between 1990 and 2000."

Looking at this growth from a different perspective, the foreign-born population was 21.7 percent of the state population in 1990; by 2000 that share had increased to 26.2 percent, 37 percent of whom had moved to California within the past ten years.

To recap, the native-born population (i.e. not including the births to foreign-born women) only increased by 90,000 over the decade. This was in part because so many people left the state. As a result

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immigration was an overwhelmingly large contributor to population growth. If there had been no net out migration, the share of immigration would have been smaller, which brings us to a topic beyond the scope of this report. Why do people leave California – 86 percent of them being native-born? Here it should be added that the causes of population growth can differ from place to place. In many developing countries, the cause is high fertility. In Florida, while immigration is a contributor, domestic migration from the Northern and Central states is the prime factor in the rapid population growth in that state.

Just-published information from both the Census Bureau and the California Department of Finance indicate that the population growth pattern noted for the 1990-2000 decade continues to this very day.[6] According to the recently-published report from the Demographic Unit of California's Department of Finance, the state's population grew by 1,265,000 between July 1, 2000, and July 1, 2002. According the Census Bureau estimates, California's population increased by 1,242,497 between April 1, 2000, and July 1, 2002. Of that growth 59 percent (738,015) came directly from immigration. Domestic out-migration continues (-167,755). Data are not as yet available to allow us to calculate the indirect impact of immigration for this period. Net migration (domestic and international) was estimated at 672,000. Migration into California continues to provide the majority of California's population increase.

Whatever its causes, rapid population growth is a significant problem wherever it occurs. Unfortunately most of the media and policy makers don't see it that way. The solution to traffic problems is to build more highways; the solution to pollution problems is to find better ways to adapt to it. We are not saying that controlling population growth will totally solve the many problems associated with the state; we are saying that growth is a major factor and should be seriously considered in trying to solve such problems. In this brief article, let's limit ourselves to three examples: highways, water and education.

Traffic congestion is almost beyond description in the state's major metropolitan areas. What is causing these increases in traffic which oftentimes lead to road rage, especially on the thruways in the Los Angeles area? The answer is obvious – by increasing the state's population by over four million, more than three million vehicles have been added. To compound the issue, there are more two- and three-car families than ever. To reduce such congestion, the state could (1) build more and more roads or (2) try to limit population growth. It is clear that option one is the "chosen" solution. It will fail as population growth keeps up (at least) with highway building. Furthermore, three million additional vehicles will contribute in a significant way to increased pollution as the emission of carbon dioxide increases. This is exacerbated by the growing number of SUVs on the highway. These new highways will also replace dirt with cement. Dirt takes in water; cement doesn't.

"Whatever its causes, rapid population growth is a significant problem wherever it occurs. Unfortunately most of the media and policy makers don't see it that way."

Water is already a crisis in the state. It has been a challenge for some time. California's water problems were described in the late Marc Reisner's *Cadillac Desert*. Disputes over use of the Colorado River are increasing and the state of California is in the process of suing the province of British Columbia for their failure to provide sufficient water, as mandated by NAFTA.[7] The quantity of water is becoming a world problem and it is pretty difficult to argue that population growth is not a major cause. Yet, at the recent UN Conference on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, little if any mention of population growth was addressed. In California, the increasing shortage of water is obvious. Californians should also be wary of any attempts to privatize that water. This could lead to the heretofore unbelievable situation of having to pay exorbitant fees for water – with the poor literally unable to purchase it. This is already happening in South Africa. Again, population growth is a major contributor to this alarming shortage; it isn't the only one. "Water promises to be to the 21st century

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what oil was to the 20th century: the precious commodity that determines the 'wealth of nations.'"[8]

Education may be the most important of social institutions as the state attempts to remain ahead of the technological revolution presently taking place. The state's university system, once the envy of the nation, has fallen in quality combined with increased demands for admission by an ever-growing number of applicants. According to the Demographic Research Unit of the California Department of Finance, K-12 enrollments rose from 4.8 million in 1990-91 to almost 6 million ten years later. Thus well over one million students were added to the state's already crowded schools and classrooms.[9] This increase will continue into the future. Over the past decade, white enrollments fell by about 500,000 students while that of Hispanics rose by close to one million. By 2000, there were more Hispanics than other children enrolled in the state's schools. This illustrates the impact of immigration.

A school district such as Los Angeles has students that speak over 60 different languages. Although finding teachers is a problem throughout the nation, consider the difficulty in districts like this. (Statewide there are over 200 different languages spoken in the schools). In 2001-2002, there were 6,147,375 students enrolled in California schools. Of these students, 2,347,387 had a native language other than English. Of these students, 878,139 were fluent in English and 1,560,000 had limited English proficiency. California spends $6,837 per student, so more than $16 billion was spent last year on students whose native language was other than English.

Bringing up the difficulties of increasing diversity leads to one final issue. If the fertility rate of any large group of the foreign-born remains higher than that of the native-born; if domestic out-migration continues as it has recently when only 16 percent of those leaving the state were foreign-born; can the remaining citizens adjust to a new California where the foreignborn and their children outnumber the native-born? As for sheer population growth, irrespective of its source, can California accommodate itself to another 10 or 20 million inhabitants?

These are the questions that the people of the Golden State must face today and not tomorrow.

* * *

California's Population Growth 1990-2000: A Second View

by Dick Schneider

Demographer Leon Bouvier shows that immigration and the natural increase (births minus deaths) of immigrants accounted for an astounding 98 percent of California's population growth during the 1990s. Bouvier uses the most recent California Department of Finance (DOF) statistics together with conservative demographic assumptions to arrive at this result. There are good reasons for believing, however, that Bouvier's estimate is only a lower bound. A more likely result is that 100 percent of California's net growth during the 1990s – all 4.2 million persons – was due to immigrants and their offspring.

The most significant explanation for our somewhat different results has to do with state-to-state migration. During the 1990s California experienced a huge outpouring of residents moving to other states in the nation. The DOF estimates this exodus at 1.6 million people. Of those leaving, an estimated 85 percent, or 1.3 million, were native-born. During the same period, natural increase of the native born was 1.4 million. The native born therefore made a small but positive net contribution of just 100,000 persons, or 2 percent to the state's growth during the decade using DOF statistics.

However, demographer William Frey has come up with a different estimate. Frey is one of the country's foremost authorities on state-to-state migration. He analyzed Census 2000 data and determined that 1.5 million native-born residents left California for other states during the 1990s.[10] Using Frey's figure means that California had a net loss of 100,000 native-born residents instead of a net 100,000 gain (natural increase of 1.4 million minus net out-migration of 1.5 million). As a result, *all* of California's net growth over the decade resulted from immigration and the natural increase of immigrants and the children of immigrants.

A second reason for believing that Bouvier's result is a lower bound concerns illegal immigration. Department of Finance figures significantly understate growth in the illegal population. Recent statistics from the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Servicesformerly the INS-show that the state's illegal population grew by 732,000 over the 1990s, reaching a total California illegal population of 2.2 million as of January 2000.[11] State statistics only reflect growth of

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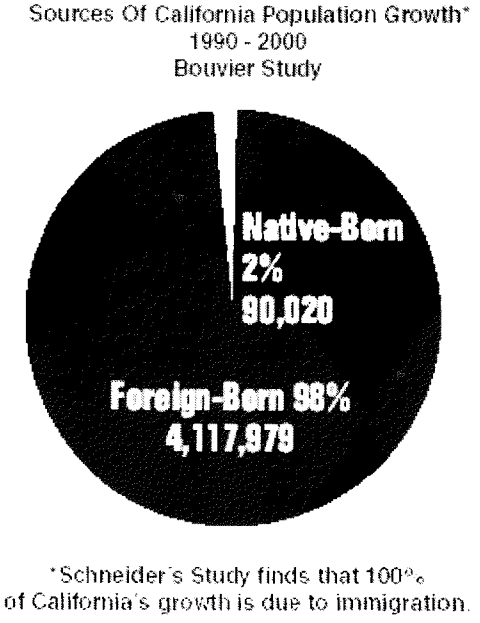
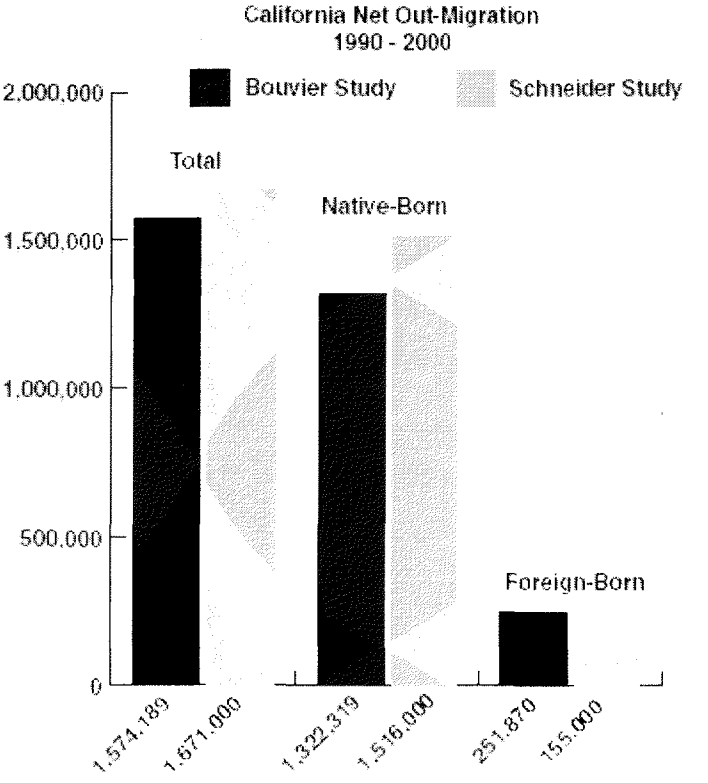
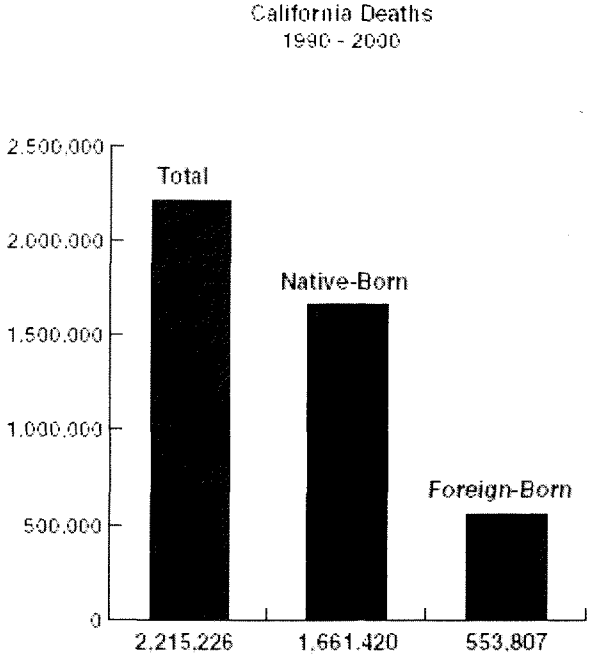
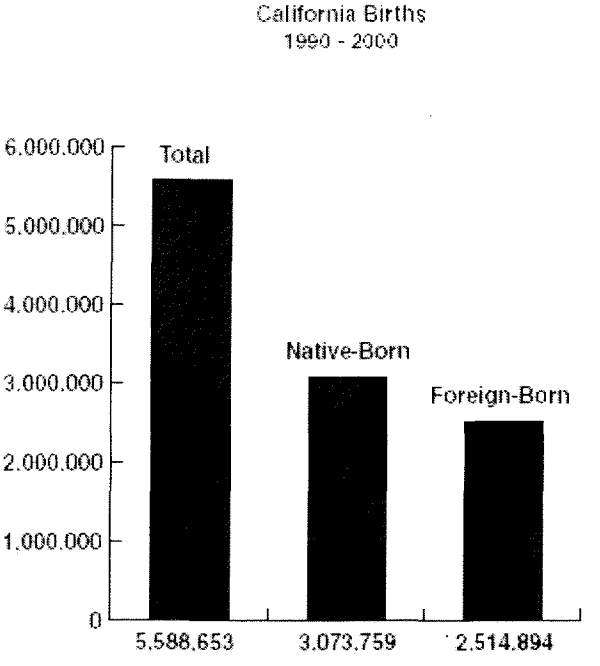


*Schneider's Study finds that 100% of California's growth is due to immigration.







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400,000 in the illegal population over this period.[12] As a result, an additional 332,000 should be added to the immigration contribution to state growth during the decade.

A third and final reason why the immigration contribution to growth should be increased relates to Census Bureau undercounts. Immigrants – both legal and illegal – are among the hard-to-count groups in the decennial census. Typically census counts are adjusted upward to compensate for this sampling error. When the DOF corrects its official statistics to conform to decennial census data, those upward adjustments are included.

"The undercount could be anywhere from tens to hundreds of thousands of legal and illegal persons."

Census 2000 was not adjusted for undercounts, however, so the DOF figures which conform to them are too low. The undercount in California is especially significant because 30 percent of all U.S. immigrants reside here. The undercount could be anywhere from tens to hundreds of thousands of legal and illegal persons.[13] This undercount should be added to the foreign-born component of state growth, thereby raising its percentage contribution.

In summary, various factors not included in official state statistics indicate the direct and indirect contribution of the foreign born to California's growth during the 1990s was very likely to have been 100 percent.

Anyone thinking about addressing the state's massive problems of traffic congestion, air pollution, increasing water and energy demands, conversion of prime agricultural land, loss of wildlife habitat and open space, housing affordability, school overcrowding, and a host of other critical issues, must forthrightly address over-immigration if they hope to make any headway. ■

THE AUTHORS

Leon F. Bouvier, Ph.D., received his B.S. degree, cum laude, in Sociology and History from Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, and his masters and doctorate in Sociology and Demography from Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. He taught at Georgetown University and the University of Rhode Island. Dr. Bouvier was a demographic adviser to the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Population and later to the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. In 1980 he was named research director at the Population Reference Bureau in Washington, D.C., later serving as vice president of that organization. He retired from the Population Reference Bureau in 1986 and became a Senior Fellow at the Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, DC.

Dr. Bouvier has served as a consultant to numerous concerned environmental and population organizations such as the Sierra Club, Negative Population Growth and the Carrying Capacity Network. He is one of the founders of Floridians for a Sustainable Population. Currently, Dr. Bouvier is Visiting Professor of Sociology at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, V A. He is also Adjunct Associate Professor of Demography at Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Dr. Bouvier has published extensively in the field of Demography. His most recent monographs include *How Many Americans? Population, Immigration, and the Environment* (Sierra Club Books 1994), *Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing_America* (University Press of America 1992), *Fifty Million Californians* (Center for Immigration Studies, 1991), *Florida in the 21st Century: The Challenge of Population Growth* (Center for Immigration Studies 1993), *Immigration and Social Diversity* (Walker Pub. Co. 1990), and the college textbook, *Population: Demography and Policy (St.* Martin's Press 1984). He has appeared on numerous radio and television programs including ABC's "Good Morning America," NBC's "Nightly Evening News," CNN's "The Two of Us," and NPR's "All Things Considered."

Dr. Bouvier currently resides in Norfolk, VA.

Dick Schneider is an environmental writer, policy analyst and activist. He received his B.A. (Physiology) and M.S. (Energy and Resources) degrees from the University of California at Berkeley. His graduate work focused on the effects of acid rain and metals pollution on high altitude lakes of the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains. He helped establish the first acid rain monitoring station on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains in the late 1970s.

From 1999 to 2002, Mr. Schneider was Conservation Chair of the Sierra Club San Francisco Bay Chapter and led passage of an Alameda county-wide open space protection initiative. Since 1995, he has chaired the Sierra Club Bay Chapter Population Committee and frequently lectures on

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the role of population growth in degrading natural ecosystems and eroding quality of life.

He serves on the Board of Trustees of The Head-Royce School in Oakland, California, is a director of the Bay Area Transportation and Land Use Coalition, and co-authored *Toxics A to Z: A Guide to Everyday Pollution Hazards* (University of California Press).

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ENDNOTES

1. State of California, Department of Finance, *"Historical California Population Estimates, with Components of Change and Crude Rates, July 1,1941-2002"* Sacramento, California, January 2003.

2. Total numbers for births, deaths, net immigration, and net domestic migration for July 1, 1990 to July I, 2000 are from State of California, Department of Finance, "Updated Revised Historical County Population Estimates and Components of Change, July 1,1990-1999," Sacramento, California, January 2003. http://www.dof.ca.govlhtmllDemographlE-6.xls and "County Population Estimates and Detailed Components of Change, July 1,2000-2002, with Historical 1999 Estimates and Census 2000 Counts," Sacramento, California, January 2003. http://www.dof.ca.govlhtmllDemographlE-6cntv.xls

3. It should be noted that natural increase was greater among the foreign-born than among the native-born. As Table 1 indicates, natural increase for the former was 1,961087. For the native-born it was 1,412,389.

4. Native-born women accounted for 55 percent of California's births during the 1990s; foreign-born women accounted for 45 percent. State of California, Department of Finance, "Percent of births with selected demographic characteristics, by racelethnicity of mother – 1990-2000." Native-born persons accounted for 75 percent of California deaths; foreign-born persons accounted for 25 percent." State of California, Department of Finance, "California Current Population Survey Report: March 2000 Data," Sacramento, California, March 2001. March 2001.

5. It should be pointed out that other sources yield slightly different scenarios. We have examined all possibilities. The very latest data from the California Department of Finance appear to be reliable. However, differences among these various sources are minimal at best.

6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Cumulative Births, Deaths, and Migration by States," December 2002.

7. Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke, "Who owns water?" *The Nation,* September 29, 2002, p. 13.

8. *Fortune* as cited in *The Nation,* ibid. p. 11.

9. Actual school enrollment through 2001-2002 was provided by the California Department of Education, California Basic Educational System; projected enrollment, by the Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit. California Youth Authority and State Special Schools are excluded.

10. Frey, William F. "Census 2000 Reveals New Native-Born and Foreign-Born Shifts Across U.S." *Research Report No. 02-520.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center, August 2002. Appendix Table A. http://www .frey-demographer. orgfreports/rrO2- 5 20. pdf

11. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Office of Policy and Planning. "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: 1990-2000," January 31, 2003. P. 8 and Table 1 (page 15).

12. DOF E-6 reports show total immigration of 2.4 million during the 1990s. (See Bouvier's article for citations.) Separately, the DOF reports legal immigration growth as 2 million during the 1990s. (State of California, Department of Finance, "Legal Immigration to California by County: Federal Fiscal Year (FFY) 1990-2000," Sacramento, California, October 2002.) The difference of 400,000 represents the State's implied estimate of growth in the illegal population. This figure compares with the INS estimate of 732,000 growth in the illegal California population.

13. J. Gregory Robinson, U.S. Census Bureau. "ESCAP II: Demographic Analysis Results," October 13, 2001. Appendix Table 6, page A-12. http://www.census.gov/dmd/www/pdf/Reportl.PDF

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Plus ça change...

Déjà viewing Australia's 'Future Dilemmas'[1]

by Denis McCormack

Being in the unique position of having an entire island continent under their sovereignty in an overcrowded world, Australians have long been quietly obsessed with national and global population statistics, reports, books, parliamentary inquiry proceedings, and predictions. This magnificently far-sighted obsession was formalized with great impact 110 years ago on publication of Charles Henry Pearson's *National Life and Character*, subtitled *A Forecast* (Macmillan, 1893). Its scope of demographic, historical and predictive analysis so masterfully presented soon won acclaim from the likes of Theodore Roosevelt and English Prime Minister Gladstone.[2]

The latest study to be appended to the lengthy list is "Future Dilemmas: Options to 2050 for Australia's Population, Technology, Resources and Environment," principal authors Barney Foran and Franzi Poldy, Working Paper Series 02/01, Report to the Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs by CSIRO (the prestigious government-funded Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization), October 2002, ISBN 095808453X. It is available online at http://www.cse/csiro.au/futuredilemmas. It was commissioned by the wiliest and longest-serving ever immigration minister, Philip Ruddock, a few years ago, and launched by him on November 7, 2002. On November 2nd, the *Sydney Morning* Herald carried a preview feature by Michael Millett that ran on the same day in the *SMH*'s Melbourne stable mate, *The Age*.

***Denis McCormack** is Australian correspondent for* The Social Contract. *We asked him to provide background on the most recent carrying capacity research.*

For local relevance, *The Age* substituted Melbourne and surrounding city names in the opening paragraphs for those in the original *Sydney Morning Herald* version. All else remains the same, apart from slight editing for length and differing titles for the article. In the *SMH* the headline was "Future shock: scientists now say Australia can support 50 million people, but is that what we want and can we trust politicians to make the right choices?" *The Age* headlined it: "In the year 2100, there may be close to 10 million people living in the megatropolis of Melbourne. How will we cope?"

A few weeks after the release of "Future Dilemmas," I spoke by phone separately to both Foran, with whom I've been speaking for a few years[3] and to Poldy, to get their reactions to the media coverage. Both agreed that with a few reservations aside, Millett's *SMH* article from *The Age* was the most balanced of the various articles published. I reproduce it here:

Picture Melbourne in the year 2100. A sprawling mega-city of almost 10 million people, its suburban talons so huge they spread beyond the neighboring cities of Geelong, Bendigo and Ballarat.

Aggressive immigration has pushed Australia's population beyond 50 million. With an even larger Sydney, the Greater Melbourne area is part of an urban agglomeration that stretches along the continent's east coast from Port Phillip Bay to far North Queensland.

This human mass delivers economic clout. With its bigger domestic markets, Australia has been weaned off its chronic dependence on resource-draining commodity exports for economic survival.

The east coast capitals are true international cities, transforming Australia into a powerhouse of global commerce. But size brings with it myriad problems. Domestic gas and oil supplies have been seriously

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depleted for decades, forcing drastic changes in transport and energy choices.

The city groans under its immense and growing infrastructure burden. There is water, but private companies struggle to maintain quality and surety of supplies. There is a chronic shortage of specialized health services for the aged.

And diets have changed. The sea has long ago given up its ability to provide Australians with protein. Far from being served on the "barbie," the humble prawn is now an extremely scarce imported item.

"If the project is able to provide a 20/20 view of the future across every facet of Australian life, then the findings will be extremely beneficial in shaping big policy decisions."
– The Age, *Melbourne*

Science Fiction? Not if you believe the figures cranked out by the CSIRO. Using what they claim are world-first research techniques and building on almost a decade of work, the CSIRO has produced a report that strives to make sense of Australia's demographic dilemma: how many people can and should this nation carry?

It is an ambitious and highly controversial undertaking. Rather than rely on conventional economic modeling, the CSIRO boffins have constructed an elaborate model of the economy — everything from people to plants to water and air supplies, and the complex interactions that occur between them — and used it to calculate what will happen over the next fifty to one hundred years if you feed in different population scenarios.

The federal government has been eager to bankroll and supervise the research. If the project is able to provide a 20/20 view of the future across every facet of Australian life, then the findings will be extremely beneficial in shaping big policy decisions. Not least, how demography should be factored into planning for the still nascent century.

But the government is well aware of the controversy factor; the timing, scope and nature of the project will inevitably draw flak. In fact, it already has, with a panel of outside experts brought in by Canberra to oversee the research expressing some deep reservations about the methodology and findings.

The "people debate" routinely flares and fades. Right now, it is quite active, with the government fiercely fending off suggestions it should embrace a formal population policy to guide policy decisions well into the future — even to go as far as trying to establish, and then build policies around, an optimum population figure.

Those looking for the "yellow brick road," as the external reference group described it, will be disappointed. There is no magic number, even in a report of over 330 pages.

"Future Dilemmas," which will be released by the government on Thursday, deliberately straddles the entire debate, choosing as one scenario the low immigration option favored by many environmentalists to moderate Australia's population growth, and within the next century, reverse it. At the other extreme are the big population numbers, favored by the business lobby. In the middle is the status quo option, with current policy settings delivering a net immigration intake of about 70,000 a year.

Option one: the low route of zero net immigration (those arriving matching those leaving) would see the Australian population reach 20 million by 2050,[4] then fall to 17 million by 2100.

Option two: the status quo, with a net immigration intake of 70,000, the average over the past decade will stabilize the population at 25 million by 2050.

The high route of option three, with net immigration fixed at two-thirds of one percent of the total population each year (just below 130,000 now, but eventually rising to more than 300,000 a year) would result in the population jumping to 32 million

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by 2050 and the aforementioned 50 million by 2100.

The report concludes, without a flicker of doubt, that all three are "physically feasible" — even the high immigration option, generally regarded by mainstream Australia as the delusional objective of a few corporate chiefs desperate to turn the country into a hyper consumer market.

"Under all population scenarios, this study has confirmed that, barring unforeseen catastrophes, Australia has enough land, water and energy to provide food and a moderate lifestyle for all its citizens out until 2100," the two main authors, Barney Foran and Franzi Poldy, state.

Some Factors Were Left Out

Scientists, being scientists, are not swayed by the emotional debate. Getting to 50 million would necessarily involve trade-offs. The downside might be too much for governments and society to risk.

But it can be done, and trying to slow down population growth or using the default option of a middle course will not save Australia from some confronting decisions. There is no escape. It is "future shocks" regardless.

Why? The CSIRO contests that the main flaw in the population debate is that it is too narrowly focused on the direct or primary influence of population. More people consume more energy and materials and therefore produce more waste and emissions.

But there are other population influences that can impact on the physical economy. Discretionary lifestyle choices, such as rising affluence and consumption can drain resources even as population declines.

The global economy, through international trade and international debt levels also has a big impact. A bigger domestic market, for example, could loosen Australia's dependence on resource-draining agricultural exports.

The CSIRO points out that Australia currently runs a water deficit on trade. That is, the "embodied lifestyle trapped in its exports is 400 gigaliters more than the water used in its imports." Does this make sense in a dry continent? The 4,000 gigaliters roughly represents the amount of water consumed by urban Australia now. "If relatively poor trade-offs are received for those products, then the nation receives a double loss as funds are sought to repair the integrity of its river systems," the report states.

Trade-offs and complications ripple through the entire economy. A low population will ease environmental strains. But after 2100 the population begins sliding dramatically and with a vastly aging workforce. There is the possibility that health care and pension systems may not cope.

The report further states that the medium scenario tries to strike a social and economic balance, stabilizing the population at 25 million after 2050. But this may induce policy lethargy as governments delay or avoid big decisions using "default settings." The report states, "It is sufficiently comfortable to avoid major decisions that might be forced by population decline in the low scenario, or rapid population growth in the high scenario."

"There are other population influences that can impact on the physical economy. Discretionary lifestyle choices, such as rising affluence and consumption can drain resources even as population declines."

Because the CSIRO machine tracks Australia's physical history, it is open to the possibility of technological innovation easing some of the policy dilemmas. The "aggressive implementation of technology" could ease the greenhouse and energy-use problems.

What Are the Trade-Offs?

But even here there is a catch. Consumer sentiment, such as the desire for larger houses (the average house will peak at a startling 200 square meters around 2050) militates against the technological revolution. Advances are soaked up in the desire for material possessions.

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In the end, the report isolates six high level challenges or "dilemmas" that the CSIRO believes policymakers will have to confront.

None make for comfortable reading. Are we willing, for example, to halve material consumption for all citizens to completely resolve the greenhouse gas problem? Do we accept that a bigger population will result in an even poorer balance of trade in physical goods, even if it eases the aging problem?

Do we make the big jump in treating the cause of declining air and water quality rather than the symptoms? The other identified dilemmas link such seemingly disparate areas as population policy, aging of the workforce, trade, material flows, greenhouse gas emissions, natural resource depletion and environmental quality. Solving one of these problems is hard enough.

The report's dark conclusion is that we are a long way from solving all of them — or even accepting the need to do so. Certainly CSIRO's machine does not have the answers. Nor does it believe the politicians possess them.

"Single dilemmas are mostly open to resolution within the current settings of technology and ideology," the report states. "However, the resolution of two, three or more dilemmas in parallel is difficult because to do so requires a sophisticated understanding of human behavioral dynamics. Such an understanding lies outside the capability of this analytical framework." The kick is in the brackets: "It's also outside the comprehension of contemporary policy development."

Back to the Files

There was something familiar about the dystopian "Science Fiction?" of the article's opening which sent me to my file-pile. Eventually I disinterred an earlier Millett *Sydney Morning Herald* article published on the eve of a big government immigration conference, November 10, 1990, headlined "Sydney 2021: Standing Room Only," sub-headed: "Our population growth fueled by large scale immigration is the highest in the West, yet the consequences for the way we live in the future have barely been considered." As instructive as Millett's above article on "Future Dilemmas" is, he could have again usefully pointed out, as he did in his 1990 article excerpted below, that the propensity for escalation of "racial tensions" due to increased immigration deserves serious consideration.

Sydney in 2021. The harbor city is a sprawling metropolis of nearly 5 million ... Still shoehorned into a living area largely defined by existing natural boundaries ... Dwindling supplies of vacant land ... New families have little choice; they have to live in high-rise blocks in distant suburbs ... the displaced ethnic poor compete with their newly arrived cousins from overseas for jobs and houses, putting further pressure on transport, water, welfare and other services. Racial tensions have increased dramatically as Sydney with over 40 percent of its population overseas-born, now rivals New York in terms of its ethnic composition ... Science fiction? Not according to a small core of demographers, scientists and other academics, campaigning to reverse Australia's commitment to a high population/high immigration strategy ... Their research suggests that over-crowding, racial tension, inadequate services, limited housing and soaring food prices will be the legacy Australia, and particularly Sydney, inherits from the population boom of the 1980s and (perhaps) the 1990s ... The rigid adherence of the major political parties to bipartisanship on immigration numbers has stifled debate on the broader population issue ... The CSIRO did its best in a landmark 1975 report which concluded that at existing technology levels the limits on food and water supplies, some 60 million people could be supported without overloading the system; however, the study did caution that

"The rigid adherence of the major political parties to bipartisanship on immigration numbers has stifled debate on the broader population issue..."

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Australia is a large food production exporter, and with exports included in the equation the supported population plunged to 22 million ... projections show that to achieve and maintain a population of 25 million at existing birth rate levels the immigration rate would have to be lopped almost immediately to 70,000 ...The size of the immigration flow into Sydney has raised new doubts about the ability of the city's crumbling infrastructure to cope. The New South Wales Opposition Leader, Mr. Carr[5], has lined up with the low-growth lobby in complaining that the existing immigration program is extending Sydney's suburban sprawl and putting an unbearable strain on hospital, transport, water and other services.

Millett's writings help outline a strategy followed by successive governments of either persuasion when immigration becomes a political problem. A simplified analysis of the broader strategy might go something like this:

1. Commission a new round of environmental/economic research, while omitting from the terms of reference any opportunity to examine or ventilate the underlying ethnic-racial/displacement-survival/ pace of socio-cultural change anxieties being expressed by the host society, which more often than not form the immediate basis of the immigration political problem in the first place.

To help shine some light on these issues, in mid-October I had a chat with Shaun Carney, an associate editor at The Age.

2. Instruct the consulting agency to predict long-term futures for three per annum intake scenarios: Low option – zero net, a manageable figure within historical experience. Medium option – also comfortably known as the status quo, a remarkably flexible concept. High option – high, ridiculously high, at least two or three times higher than the highest intake ever, one guaranteed to cause panic, chaos, and loss of office.

3. Rely on big business and big media, to unfairly dismiss the low option.

4. Rely on the combination of public disbelief, disquiet across the parliamentary back benches of both major parties, and renewed determination of the hardheads in the scientific community to kill the lunatic high opinion.

5. Having held yet another inquiry, and having refereed the bout between the high and low options as they knocked each other out of the ring, the government of the day continues business as usual with the ever flexible status quo option, having anesthetized the issue once again until eventually losing office, or needing to repeat the strategy – whichever comes first.

So how transparent and flexible is the "status quo?" It has drifted up to the highest per annum intake for eleven years, and for the first time is locked in at that for the next few years by Minister Ruddock in an effort to minimize the annual fuss over program numbers. And what ethnic/racial groups make up the numbers?

To help shine some light on these issues, in mid-October I had a chat with Shaun Carney, an associate editor at *The Age*. He examined my assembled array of key documents and clippings (some most convincingly from his own paper) which proved to his satisfaction that there is some artful dissembling going on concerning both the tabulation of numbers, and the ethnic/racial background of people actually getting into Australia permanently, regardless of the stated immigration program numbers. After doing his own checking, and as luck would have it, Carney's exposé was published six pages after Millett's front page analysis of "Future Dilemmas," (Insight Section, *The Age*, November 2, 2002) with a pointer to it on the front page above Millett's piece which read, "Shaun Carney: The truth about Howard's immigration policy." The article itself inside on page 7 was headed "Closer to Asia than you think: If you forget the rhetoric and study immigration numbers, you may be in for a surprise." After some opening discussion of Prime Minister Howard's heir apparent – the ominously more Asia-inclined treasurer, Peter Costello – Carney got down to it:

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Howard, and a number of other ministers (but not Costello), made considerable play in the government's first two terms of office of the Coalition's outright rejection of what they presented as the Keating doctrine that Australia needed gradually to consider itself as part of Asia.

The message from the Howard government in its early days was that Australia was not part of Asia and never would be. To a considerable degree, it was part of a dog-whistle campaign by the Coalition.

At a time when rural voters and elements of blue-collar Australia were rallying around Pauline Hanson's simplified nostrums for dealing with what she portrayed as the Asianization of the nation (and the featherbedding of Aborigines), Howard was, with some fanfare, cutting back immigration numbers.[6]

This gave great comfort to those who have been arguing for years against an expanded program of immigration, especially one that accepted substantial numbers of non-whites: the members of the small but often effective political party — Australians Against Further Immigration for instance.

Howard's subsequent handling of the Tampa *crisis and the associated issue of mandatory detention, the question of border protection generally, merely added to the impression*[7] *that the government was reshaping Australia and its place in the world, forming a more isolationist stance within the region and subtly winding back the process of Asianization.*

The real situation is altogether different. While it is true that the formal make-up of the migrant intake — the categories under which immigrants arrive here — has changed under this government, the proportion of settler arrivals who are Asian-born remains constant at around 33 percent. Asians have accounted for this proportion of the intake since the mid-1970s; last year they accounted for 40 percent.

Under Philip Ruddock's stewardship of the immigration portfolio, family reunions have been reduced and the intake of skilled migrants has increased correspondingly. But the drop in annual migrant numbers really only lasted for the government's first two years and they have since returned to the levels of the Keating years.

In Keating's last year, 1995-96, settler arrivals were 99,139. In the present financial year, the Howard government is planning to accept 100,000-110,000 migrants. New Zealanders[8] *and people accepted under the humanitarian program will further top up that number.*[9]

If students and other temporary residents are included, the numbers balloon even further. In the latter half of the 1990s, 200,000 more temporary residents arrived than left. In other words, large numbers of people with temporary resident visas are finding a way to get around the formal immigration program.

What all this suggests is that while the government has been absorbing the One Nation constituency, taking some of Labor's blue-collar vote, and simultaneously driving a wedge into the ALP by running hard on the need to keep out the riff-raff, it has been running an expanded immigration program in which half the new settlers are from Asia — especially Indonesia — the Middle East or Africa.

That is, a very successful domestic political agenda has not fully accorded with policy reality.

Paradoxically, the upshot should be that the type of enhanced engagement with the region extolled by Costello should be easier to achieve. Once our Asian neighbors look past the rhetoric and study the numbers they will see little difference between this government and the one which preceded it.

... plus ça la même chose.[1]

NOTES

1. *Plus ça change, plus ça la même chose* — the more things change, the more they stay the same. Long-term readers of *The Social Contract* might recall *The Camp of the Saints Revisited* edition (Vol. V, No. 2, Winter 1994-95) which included a review of "Australia's Population Carrying Capacity: One Nation – Two Ecologies," published by Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994. "Future Dilemmas" updates and extends the genre.

2. The following condensed commentary on Pearson and his book is from John Tregenza's biography, *Professor of Democracy: The Life of Charles Henry Pearson, 1830-1894, Oxford Don and Australian Radical* (Melbourne University Press, 1968). Pearson having been a youthful professor of

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history at King's College London, a writer for *The Spectator*, traveled widely and settled in Melbourne at 40 years of age. He lectured at Melbourne University, wrote for the Melbourne *Age*, and became through the 1870s-80s a leading figure in the Victorian Colonial Parliament in Melbourne. His proposals for political and educational reforms, together with his lasting influence on some of the key figures who brought about Australian federation and independence from Britain in 1901 made a significant contribution to the shaping of modern Australian society. His last and greatest book *National Life and Character* is a remarkable forecast of the end of European domination of Asia and North Africa, future global demographics, and the coming of the centralized welfare state. It attracted attention throughout the world especially in America where it was reviewed at length by Theodore Roosevelt in the *Sewanee Review*, May 1894. Roosevelt wrote to Pearson May 11, 1894, "All our men here in Washington who read that kind of thing at all were greatly interested ... In fact, I don't suppose any book recently, unless it is Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power*, has excited anything like as much interest or has caused so many men to feel that they had to revise their mental estimates of the facts ..." In London, Gladstone was full of Pearson's book, telling dinner guests at Downing Street that it should be read by everyone concerned or interested in public affairs. It was quoted by Australia's first prime minister, Edmund Barton, when he spoke in favor of the Immigration Restriction Bill 1901, the first significant bill passed into law by the first Commonwealth Parliament. Pearson did not regard Australia as doomed to Asian occupation. He expected a steady expansion of Chinese influence, but the policy he recommended for Australia was that she should leave Asia to the Asians, keep herself (including her tropical north) European and be prepared to defend herself.

3. For years at CSIRO, Foran has been a consistent contributor promoting the population/immigration precautionary principal, in sync with both the physical science and sentiment of Australia and Australians. He contributed to a 144-page book titled "Population 2040 Australia's Choice: Proceedings of the Symposium of the 1994 Annual General Meeting of the Australian Academy of Science," which also included that organization's formal submission to "Australia's Population Carrying Capacity" cited in note (1) above – the precursor inquiry to "Future Dilemmas." With net immigration of 50,000 per annum, their recommended population figure was 23 million by 2040 (page 140). The last sentence on the last page reads, "The population goal recommended by this symposium for Australia – for a stationary population by the year 2040 – would bring Australia into close accord with the global targets identified by major world bodies." Foran was presenting at the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science and was reported in *New Scientist*, October 12, 1996, "Long dry spells outlook gloomy" warning stridently about population increase and environmental decline in Australia, "By the time we get to 40 million people in 2050, the standard of living will not win you many elections." Australia is currently enduring the worse drought in a century, with consequent widespread bushfire devastation. We are importing grain to feed stock while the cattle industry predicts that the national herd numbers could take a decade to recover. Dry land salinity and soil acidity are reaching alarming proportions. Major cities including Melbourne, not to mention scores of rural and provincial centers are contemplating permanent water restrictions. Our biggest river system, the Murray-Darling, producer of 40 percent of Australia's agriculture, now only with dredging reaches the sea. And all this at a time when Australia's second richest individual, billionaire Jewish immigrant Richard Pratt – business man, generous arts patron and political donor – is spending time, energy, and money funding population think tanks and conferences, lobbying to more than quadruple immigration in order for the population to reach his preferred target of 50 million by 2050. Pratt says "...massive population movements are already changing many traditional ideas of foreign policy and international economics. They are challenging the very notion of Australian sovereignty. For Australia to pretend that we can continue our present low level of immigration intake as if we were alone on the planet is, at best, naïve ... Whatever may be the case now, the region and the world will not ignore us indefinitely. It makes much more sense for us to plan for the coming population upheavals ... As an immigrant who is the son of an immigrant, I believe ... The same way as the United States ... Increased demand ... Lift our productivity ... Expand domestic markets ... Injection of skills, entrepreneurial talent ... New ideas ... Positive impact ... Governments must lead ... Essential role of business, unions, media ... A real choice between a dynamic growing Australia open to the world, and a more backward looking society," et cetera, ad nauseam, ad infinitum, from "Why a bigger Australia will be better" by Richard Pratt, *The Age*, January 12, 1996.

Since then, Pratt has afforded himself many opportunities to repeat his message. In keeping with past practice however, his "Future Dilemmas" terms of reference excluded consideration of Pratt's inevitable external threat "coming population upheavals" scenario and his plan to double "the high route of option three." Where all this would leave the future ethnic interests of a quickly diminishing traditional Australian Anglo-European majority remains unmentionable. At an Australian Population Association conference in Melbourne, November 2000, which Minister Ruddock addressed, I showed to Foran Kevin MacDonald's article in Population and Environment, Vol. 19, No. 4, March 1998, "Jewish Involvement in Shaping American Immigration Policy 1881-1965: A Historical Review," which later became a chapter in MacDonald's "The Culture of Critique."

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Little did either of us know that the next time we would see each other would be at a Pratt-sponsored "Population Summit" in Melbourne, February 2002.

4. Millett's wording is misleading here. Under zero net immigration from tomorrow, the population would continue rising to 22-23 million by the early 2030s, then decline to 20 million by 2050 if present below replacement fertility is assumed up until then. When I checked the Australian Bureau of Statistics; Population Clock (www.abs.gov.au Jan 2003 21:10:30 Canberra Time) it showed Australia's population at 19,812,110 with a net gain of one person every 2 minutes 44 seconds. By my calculations this means Australia's population will reach 20 million on January 12, 2004 (not in 2050 as Millett's wording suggests), if it hasn't passed it already due to the undercounting factors cited in Carney's *Age* article herein. The United Nations Population Fund's credit card-sized Population Clock calculator, (the production of which was inspired by the world's population reaching 5 billion in 1987) had programmed into it the then best available country-by-country demographic projections. It currently reads out Australia's present population as growing by one person every 2 minutes 58 seconds, with a total approximately 700,000 less than the ABS Population Clock says it actually is!

5. Since eventually winning office in New South Wales in 1995 for Labor, Premier Bob Carr has continued to argue frankly against big business and bleeding hearts regarding high immigration and ethnic crime. He supported Prime Minister Howard on the Tampa asylum seeker issue and has been strong on security following the September 11 disasters. Carr's response to "Future Dilemmas" was to call for a one-third cut to immigration because " ... the federal government continues to force-feed an increased annual migrant intake ... " He was a journalist before politics and has recently written a book in which he reiterates his concerns about population increase and immigration. At a World Economic Forum meeting, when Darvos came to Melbourne in September 2000, there were a few thousand protestors demonstrating with some of their number attempting with some success to block the entrance of delegates and dignitaries. Carr spoke at the meeting and " ... challenged protestors outside the forum to blockade the embassies of countries failing to curb population growth if they were serious about saving the global environment ... population growth, not globalized trade, caused the most environmental degradation. While acknowledging that there was excessive consumption in developed countries, he said 90 percent of the doubling of world population since 1960 had occurred in developing countries." (*The Age*, September 14, 2000: "Carr says depopulate or perish " by Claire Miller.)

6. Carney is not quite accurate here. Howard had already cut immigration by 16,000, and foreshadowed cutting it again six months before the Hanson episode. See The Social Contract, Vol. VII, No. 2, Winter 1996-97, "The Prime Minister and Pauline."

7. And what a cleverly crafted impression it is! While Minister Ruddock declined the invitation to speak at Pratt's talk fest in February 2002 (see note 3 above), he did host one of his own a few months later in May, titled "Migration Benefiting Australia." In his opening speech he exposed an important motivation behind the Howard government's 2001 election-winning strategy of being tough on border protection: "Make no mistake, public support for immigration will evaporate if Australians see back-door migration undermining the integrity of our programs..."

8. Although in recent years New Zealand has probably had the world's highest per capita immigration intakes, it has experienced a net loss of population due to the unlimited access to Australia that New Zealanders have under a long-standing trans-Tasman agreement. That agreement, however, was never intended to facilitate the re-migration to Australia of tens of thousands of New Zealand's recent Asian immigrants, South Pacific immigrants and sundry refugees. They are received and accounted for in Australia as extra to rather than as part of Australia's immigration program. Who are they? "...in Christchurch refugees are reported to be leaving in droves. About half of Christchurch's Somali community, which numbered more than 500 in 2000, have crossed the Tasman ... some of the 200 or so who were left intended to follow, and even recent Afghan refugees who had yet to get their New Zealand citizenship have signaled that they too will move to Australia ... one in three New Zealanders immigrating to Australia was not born here ... the Cambodian community once about 1200, now numbered fewer than 500 after many refugees and their families left for Australia..." (From the Ashburton *Guardian* [New Zealand], August 2, 2002, titled "Concerns raised New Zealand is backdoor entry to Australia for refugees" by Annie Studholme.) Never has this analysis of New Zealand refugees re-migrating been published in Australia.

9. Australia's humanitarian program for refugee settlement is 12,000 per annum.

In Need of Explanation

Maximizing the opportunity to avoid detection, some illegal immigrants from Mexico choose to enter the United States through a desolate mountain-desert area east of Yuma, Arizona, but in May 2001, fourteen of them died of dehydration under a blistering sun. In April 2003, their families filed a $42 million lawsuit in Tucson against the U.S. Department of the Interior for having failed to install water stations in the area.

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Population/Immigration: One Problem, Indivisible

by Lee G. Madland

Some months ago in Missoula, Montana, I had a conversation with a niece of mine who was visiting from California in connection with wedding festivities for her nephew. She recently had returned from a three-week trip to Southeast Asia in which she visited Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, and not long before had also visited Guatemala. These being her first exposures to Third-World countries, the experience clearly had made a major impression on her. During dinner one evening she mentioned to me that multitudes living in the Third World would do *anything* to come to the United States, and vividly described crowds outside U.S. embassies or consulates applying and imploring for visas. "They would cut their arm off" if that's what it took, she later commented. I expressed understanding and agreement with her observation, but in the midst of a busy social situation there wasn't much opportunity to discuss it further. What follows grew out of an e-mail I later sent to her.

Certainly what she observed is stark reality. Unfortunately, that reality is used by many people as an argument to admit more and more immigrants as the only compassionate thing for America to do. Those advocates show little awareness of limits or constraints that necessarily must be enforced – and effectively, which is emphatically *not* being done at present – for this country to avoid being swamped as a culture and destroyed as a nation, given the continuing clamor for such admission by huge numbers of diverse (*that word again*) peoples.

One can understand the immigrants' desires, but as Garrett Hardin has noted in another but similar context, "maybe that touches your heart, but just don't let it touch your mind."[1] Politically Correct souls, however, more than just suggest that even to oppose increasing, or – *horrors* – actually advocate decreasing the immigration flow to America – is off the table for decent people, and that pushing for restrictive measures not only threatens the sacred cow of diversity but also brands one as a racist, bigot, or, as Thomas Sowell recently remarked, whatever the epithet *du jour* may be. Without stopping to seriously consider likely consequences, they shy away from the problem like the legendary ostrich, and heatedly deny that the influx will bring any bad results at all. It will be interesting to see what they will think some years hence when they are unmistakably confronted with real consequences. (Some of these are already occurring on a still relatively small but increasing scale, as my niece living in San Francisco observed herself with no prompting from me.) The trend is ominous.

Guilt and Mass Immigration

Dreamy-eyed advocates of liberal or even totally uncontrolled open-border immigration are fond of citing historic wrongs, which are easy to find. But *this is the here and now*. To wrap oneself in guilt over past wrongs that some of our ancestors have perpetrated (and which others have not) can never accomplish anything constructive. (As Edmund Burke said two centuries ago, "I would not know how to draw an indictment against an entire people.") We can operate only from where we are right now. And right now there is a huge and burgeoning problem of massive immigration to America – people crossing seas and rivers, deserts and fences to this land by whatever means possible, legal or illegal.

The immigrants, by and large, cannot be blamed individually for wanting to better themselves. There are exceptions, of course, which now include a bag of Islamic jihadists in this country, as well as Aztlan

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agitators and those influenced by them whose objective is to take over the American Southwest.

Numeracy

Overall, however, the problem is less with individuals than with the sheer *numbers* of immigrants and prospective immigrants. Hardin has often observed that journalists, influential opinion-makers who are by definition skilled with words and thus a highly literate lot, are seldom much accomplished in *numeracy*, the use and insightful interpretation of quantitative information. Oh, they can manipulate figures, but often are sorely lacking in the ability to see what is significant in them, and rarely do they let mere numbers get in the way of what they regard as their insights, which have been formed primarily by concepts based on words. They eagerly use numbers they believe will support their beliefs, but frequently are willfully blind to numbers that cast those beliefs in doubt; in such cases they find it easy to dismiss quantities as just "sterile numbers" that cannot inform their verbally based concepts. Journalists, of course, are hardly unique in this respect – most members of the teaching profession, at least outside the natural sciences, are more literate than numerate and so is most of the general public, so the power of merely literate journalists to influence public thinking is all the greater. What is needed is *both* literacy and numeracy, a combination hard to find in today's opinion leaders.

If the latter were not true, the old saw – "figures don't lie but liars figure"– wouldn't have the piquancy that it does.

The current problem of immigration is a particularly good example of the need to consider numbers as a key to the *quality* of decisions that must be made. Even if we should suppose that every single immigrant coming to America does so with the best of intentions, there is a limit to how many can be accommodated without disastrous consequences down the road. This land – any land – is finite. The contiguous United States comprises 5.3 percent of the world's land[2] and presently contains 4.5 percent of its population; thus it is reasonably close to the present world average in population density. Whether that density is now beyond the optimum is a matter that can be argued on both quantitative and qualitative grounds depending on how one defines the "good," though many believe we have already passed that point. The U.S. is without question materially better off than most of the rest of the world due to its technological culture and advanced economic system, but there is no doubt that there are practical limits which cannot be exceeded without penalties, some of which can be draconian – and ultimately will be if checks are not put in place.

"Hardin uses the analogy of a lifeboat to illustrate the basic problem involved in terms of population increase and limits to a land's carrying capacity."

In any case, warning flags are waving. One of them warns that for over 30 years America has been taking in a far, far outsized proportion – an actual *majority* of the entire world's immigration – with no end in sight.

Hardin uses the analogy of a lifeboat to illustrate the basic problem involved in terms of population increase and limits to a land's carrying capacity (whether that increase is due to an excess of births over deaths or immigration, or both). Say we are fifty survivors of a sunken ship in a lifeboat with just that rated capacity, and we see a hundred others swimming toward us in a desperate bid to be taken aboard. No matter how much we sympathize with their plight we obviously cannot take them all in. If in our compassion we attempt to take all aboard, the lifeboat will swamp and *everyone* will be drowned. ("Complete justice, complete catastrophe," Hardin comments.[3]) If we repel those attempting to board, though as moral people we do it with a heavy heart, fifty people may at least survive. Such are the stark realities of the situation. We might decide to take a chance by inferring a small safety factor in the rating and let a few more aboard, but this clearly cannot do anything for the bulk of the swimmers. The most we could rationally offer might be to tow those who will cling to a rope behind the

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boat, but unless we are near a shore they will not last long, especially if the water is cold.

This analogy is an excellent, if wrenching, example of how what may seem at first glance purely moral decisions can all too easily run up against the numbers.

It also illustrates that numbers can – in many cases must – be a key factor in making moral decisions.

Key Questions

A prime, almost too close case, is that of immigration. How many can we take in? How many *should* we take in? At what point does taking in more bring more harm than good – for us, of course, but also in the long run for those admitted and their descendants. And, here we are not dealing with cases of certain death if we decide not to admit them as immigrants in the first place. To refuse to admit more than a few judiciously selected entrants (which means many fewer than are entering the U.S. today) is certainly more humane than our present allegedly compassionate, but in fact irresponsibly freewheeling policies toward admitting legal immigrants and refusing to deport illegals in more than token numbers.

There are always limits – to populations that can be reasonably accommodated as well as to any other physical factor, whether on earth or on other planets (once these are reached and rendered both habitable and self-sufficient). Settling other worlds could be stimulating and, significantly, would provide survival insurance for the human species against some total disaster on Earth. But it is grandiose delusion to think that space colonization can solve Earth's population problems: even if it should become logistically possible to send multitudes into extraterrestrial space, that would only make room, and an excuse, for more people to be produced on Earth. Earth's excess of population generation will have to be solved on Earth, and nowhere else. And for similar reasons, the acute overpopulation problems now facing many Third World countries must be solved in those countries, and nowhere else.

It's true that modern science and technological innovation, such as large irrigation projects and development of new higher-yielding crop strains, have extended the capacity of favorably situated land on Earth to support considerably more people than has been true in past centuries. But costs (financial and environmental) are likewise considerable and sometimes prohibitive, and by no means all lands can be so utilized – the vast and nearly empty Sahara, for example, is as barren as ever. Still, given the natural prerequisites such as suitable climate and terrain no doubt further progress in these respects can be made, but it is always worth asking the question: *If* we should make the earth's land (and seas) capable of supporting the maximum number of people possible, what kind of life would those people be living, crowded cheek by jowl as they would be in all but the more sterile lands? Would their lives consist of more than a desperate treadmill of subsistence? Would more than a tiny elite have any time or resources to pursue anything but daily drudgery, merely to survive in grinding poverty? (And often, not survive at all.)

To these arguments, devotees of growth-oriented schools of thought have objected that some of the most crowded places on earth, namely cities like Tokyo, Hong Kong, and Singapore, not to mention other great cities especially in Europe and North America, are today highly prosperous and thriving. (Manhattan's population density in the 2000 Census was 76,000 residents per square mile). But such places have always been exceptional in the world, achieving such status today mainly through a high economic productivity which makes them able to afford to buy food and amenities from great hinterlands, and even overseas. The point here is that the land that supports them is actually many times greater in extent than the small areas occupied by those cities themselves. At the other end of the scale, many great cities in the Third World (Calcutta comes immediately to mind), also drawing their subsistence from far larger regions, are better described as concentrations of squalor.

Unending Growth?

Some well-known economists, famously the late Julian Simon, dismiss the idea of inherent limits to growth as "Malthusian," citing recent gains in mankind's capacity for producing food and other goods. However, few practicing economists are used to thinking in the long term; their projections and forecasts are typically limited to the next five years or perhaps a decade for the bolder among them (and even then are always subject to change due to unforeseen events). Beyond that they tend to assume that "things

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will work out." Not just economists but few people at all think in terms extending beyond a single human lifetime, or those of one's children or grandchildren at most.

A simple example will serve to show conclusively that present rates of growth in the human population of Earth cannot – absolutely *cannot* – be sustained long-term:

The world's net increase in population during the 1990-2000 decade averaged 1.5 percent per year according to United Nations statistics, with the globe's population having passed the six billion mark by the year 2000. As a thought experiment, I have calculated what the population would be after centuries of this kind of growth. A 1.5 percent annual increase does not sound like much; from one year to the next you might not notice any particular effects at all. But at this rate, population doubles every 46 years and 8 months.

The calculation is straightforward. Let's figure it for 800 years, during which time just over 17 doublings would take place. Seventeen doublings of our six billion base yields a population of 786 *trillion* people. But what does that enormous number mean? The bottom line is that the allotment of the Earth's total land area for each person would amount to a space almost exactly one foot long by two feet wide[4] – in brutally literal terms, standing room only! And this result in just a little over eleven traditional human lifetimes.

SELECTED EXAMPLES: FERTILITY & POPULATION GROWTH RATES

	Mid-2000 population (millions)	Fertility: Number of lifetime children per woman (1995 - 2000)	Annual percent pop. increase (1995 - 1999)
Sub-Saharan Africa:			
Nigeria	123	5.2	3.2 %
Ethiopia	64	6.3	3.0
Congo (fmr. Zaire)	52	6.4	2.6
Tanzania	35	5.5	3.7
Sudan	35	4.6	2.3*
Uganda	23	7.1	2.9
Ivory Coast	16	5.1	3.4*
Angola	10	6.8	3.2
Somalia	7.3	7.3	4.1
Rwanda	7.2	6.2	2.7*
Arab Near East:			
Egypt	68	3.7	2.0*
Iraq	23	5.3	2.8
Saudi Arabia	23	5.8	2.2
Yemen	17	7.6	4.0*
Syria	16	4.0	3.2
Jordan	5.0	4.9	3.1
West Bank	2.0	5.3*	3.5*
Gaza Strip	1.1	7.7*	4.6*
Other areas:			
The World	*6,080*	*3.1**	*1.5**
China	1,262	1.8	0.9
India	1,014	3.1	1.7
United States	282	2.1	0.9
Russia	145	1.3	-0.4
Mexico	100	2.8	1.8
Guatemala	13	4.8	2.5*
Haiti	6.9	4.4	2.1

Notes: Population estimates from *The World Almanac 2001* (except U.S., 2000 Census result for April 1 being here projected to July). Population growth and fertility are 1995-99/2000 averages, or if not available for latest year shown during given period, from *Demographic Yearbook 1999* (United Nations, 2001). Asterisks denote data from *The World Factbook 1996-97* (Central Intelligence Agency) for 1995, the year generally most typical for the decade (used here chiefly in lieu of U.N. omissions, often due to gaps in its 1995-2000 data). Population growth rates for countries reflect not only net natural increase but any migration in either direction across their borders.

Recently, certain well-known media pundits have ridiculed the notion that practical limits to population apply by pointing out triumphantly that, as an example, the earth's entire present population could fit into the state of Texas with room to spare. This, I find, works out to the equivalent of a square plot 35 feet on a side for each person, which on the surface might seem better than standing room only. What they do not address is how long these unfortunates would remain alive in such a situation. The answer is that nearly all would be dead within days if that amount of land had to provide water and food for each occupant. Those writers have taken up and used numbers, all right, but obviously with little idea of their implications.

It goes without saying that nothing remotely approaching either scenario can ever occur. The numbers show conclusively that to sustain indefinitely the present human population growth rate, or for that matter *any positive growth rate at all*, is utterly impossible. Moreover, at present population growth rates it would obviously take no more than a very small fraction of 800 years before any reasonable definition of the earth's carrying capacity (for human beings and other creatures) would be exceeded. Therefore, at some point not very far off humanity will be compelled to stabilize its population at zero growth, or even negative growth for a time. (In modern First-

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World economies, a lifetime average of 2.1 children per woman will result in zero population growth.)

The world average fertility rate for the mid-1990s has been 3.1 children per woman, resulting in the 1.5 percent net population growth rate already noted. The world averages are affected greatly by high rates in Third World countries. Even a cursory perusal of fertility rates and population growth rates shows that the highest such rates are found in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab countries of the Near East. Most of these countries show lifetime *averages* of some five, six and in a few cases over seven children per woman, and net population growth rates of three or even four percent or more annually. (A three percent net growth rate will double the population every 23 years, four percent in less than 18 years.) Some examples of the more prolifically reproducing countries are shown in the table, along with a few others for comparison.

"The population of Mexico, the largest source of immigration to the United States, is growing at double the U.S. rate despite the drain of "exporting," so to speak, many hundreds of thousands of its people each year to north of the border."

While the table on the previous page focuses especially on countries and regions with high fertility and growth rates, those shown are by no means isolated examples. In Africa (ignoring a few tiny island states), no less than seventeen of 43 countries south of the Sahara show fertility rates greater than six children per woman in the UN data, and seventeen more show rates between five and six. Seven fall between four and five children, and only two countries show fewer than four children per woman – even the latter being quite high for an *average*, and capable of producing rapid population growth.

The two regions spotlighted in the table, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab Near East, show the highest fertility and/or growth rates in the world today – no other great regions come close in these respects. Some countries within several of those regions do, however, such as in parts of South and Southeast Asia, in the Melanesian region of the Southwest Pacific, and in certain areas of the New World, especially Central America, Haiti, and parts of South America such as the Andean plateaus.

The lowest population growth rates are found in Europe (and Japan) and, generally, in overseas regions settled largely by people of European origins. The UN listings show Europe (with Russia) as a whole with precisely 0.0 population growth for the 1995-2000 period, and most countries in Eastern Europe show absolute declines. Western Europe still shows tiny "holdover" increases, reinforced in many cases by immigration. But *every* country in Europe except Muslim Albania is now reproducing at below replacement levels, most well below – and the trend is still downward. Over half of 35 European countries (excluding microstates) now show less than 1.4 children per woman. If this means Europeans are being more "responsible," it also means they are becoming a smaller proportion of the world's population year by year, which if continued will have profound effects in world affairs.

Among countries of the industrialized Western world, the highest rates of population growth are found in the United States, Canada, and Australia. A perusal of currently available data shows that in all three countries, new immigrants are today entering in numbers either comparable to or exceeding the natural increase (births over deaths) – and an appreciable portion of that natural increase itself is being produced by Third World immigrants of the last three decades and their descendants.

The population of Mexico, the largest source of immigration to the United States, is growing at double the U.S. rate despite the drain of "exporting," so to speak, many hundreds of thousands of its people each year to north of the border. As of the late 1990s Mexico's rate of doubling its own population is 39 years, compared with 78 years for the U.S. And remember, a considerable part of the U.S. population growth itself is a direct result of immigration, legal

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and illegal, from Mexico and other countries. Thus the immigration-induced population increase in the United States, year after year, decade by decade, feeds on and compounds upon itself.

China has managed to cut its population growth rate to about the same as the present U.S. level at just under one percent annually, but its enormous total population of 1,300 million (1.3) billion means China will continue to be a major contributor to the world population increase for some time to come – India even more so with its 1,000 million people and a 1.7 percent annual population growth rate, which seems low only in comparison with African and Arab rates of increase (immigration to both China and India is essentially zero). India alone now accounts for one-fifth of total world population growth. The Subcontinent, which includes Pakistan and Bangladesh along with India, has pulled even with East Asia (China, Korea, Japan) and will soon surpass that region in absolute numbers of people. While no single countries today have populations in India's or China's league, as a continent Africa in 1997 overtook Europe, and now swelling from 800 million is positioned to close the gap with India and China – this in a part of the world that can ill afford further population pressure on the land.

If mankind cannot or will not check population growth on his own, nature will do it for him – and if the latter the results will not be pretty.

In the United States, the "mere" one-percent annual population growth for the 1990s, though well below the world average, is likewise unsustainable long-term. The average number of children for American women has fallen a bit below the 2.1 required to produce zero growth in population – so, why is there any population growth at all? First, part of the present U.S. population increase is accounted for by the numbers of post-World-War-II baby boomers' children who are still having their own offspring; but this temporary "holdover" gain has nearly run its course as that group moves beyond childbearing age. The other part of America's population increase is the direct result of the surge in immigration legal and illegal, as already noted. This has become an apparently unstoppable trend which began to "take off" just a few years after passage of the 1965 immigration-reform law and which accelerated as immigrants attained citizenship and could bring in increasing numbers of relatives in a burgeoning chain migration under the "family reunification" provisions of that law. The trend was concurrently boosted even more by the rise of Politically Correct notions of multiculturalism and the glorification of diversity that have made it politically almost impossible to effectively oppose not only legal immigration but the very large illegal flow as well.

As a result of the 1965 law, the overwhelming bulk of immigrants coming to the United States, roughly 90 percent, now come from Third World countries – vastly different from immigration flows during the 19th century and first two-thirds of the 20th when about 90 percent came from Europe. The changes instituted by the 1965 immigration act have crowded out most Europeans seeking to immigrate legally, as the long waits – often in decades – are prohibitive for most.

In barely over three decades since 1970 all this has reduced the proportion of Americans of European origin from about 88 percent of the population to around 70 percent today. In terms of on-the-ground demographics, this is a lightning rate of change –and that trend is not only continuing but also increasing with every passing year. While long-term projections can be hazardous, it is clear that if present trends do not change dramatically, people of chiefly European origins in the U.S. will slip below 50 percent in a few more decades. Those who would deny this are invited to show evidence that changes great enough to dramatically slow or stop that trend will occur in the meantime.

Although no better than widely varying estimates of illegal immigrants are for obvious reasons unobtainable,[5] the proportion of the current U.S. population *increase* attributable to post-1965 legal and illegal immigrants and their descendants now accounts for a considerable majority (a recent estimate puts it at 70 percent of the increase, *not* counting illegals), and in the absence of major changes in immigration law and enforcement, in another decade or two this looks to be all or nearly all of future increases.[6]

The present immigration flow to America is thus changing the basic cultural composition of its population as well as its overall numbers. This is a new phenomenon, attributable entirely to the present

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wave of immigration that got under way in earnest about 1970. The trend was helped along in many ways by changing cultural attitudes among native-born Americans, which became apparent in the 1960s. During the 1970s, as the U.S. immigration flow increased in both numbers and cultural diversity, "diversity" itself came to be seen by many intellectuals as an ideal to be encouraged – both by liberals on the left and many otherwise conservative economic growth advocates on the right (for different reasons). The net result was that both the numbers and the character of the immigration-induced population changes were applauded by media and politicians alike, and even the most thoughtful criticism of the burgeoning trend became Politically Incorrect in a society becoming more and more permissive in many diverse ways.

As the immigrant flow became a flood in the 1980s and 1990s, those who raised warnings were dismissed and vilified as ethnocentric bigots and, increasingly, racist-fascist[7] or some other scurrilous epithet. Even though problems with immigration were becoming ever more apparent, much of the intelligentsia and those in the media became even more assertive in favor of immigration. There has been notably less enthusiasm for immigration among the general public, who are much less insulated from problems involving jobs, crime, welfare, ethnic exclusivity, and the like. But even many citizens genuinely concerned about this have tended to mute their feelings and hold back from expressing their doubts on these matters in public – no one likes to be called a bigot – and, as always, a large number were and are apathetic and disinclined to challenge what is presented as the dominant trend.

This situation still holds, although many eyes have been opened since the event of September 11, 2001, with a sizeable cultural quarter of the world nurturing a now-obvious animus against Western civilization in general and America in particular. But in the aftermath of that horrific event and America's shocked response to it there is also danger that in the meantime a less spectacular but continuing trend, which is an even greater threat to the security and the very future existence of the United States, will get less attention: the out-of-control immigration into the U.S., whose effects if not stopped in time could be terminal for the American nation and culture. If present levels of immigration to America continue for two or three more decades, the time frame for a likely dissolution of the United States would in all probability be not in the next century but in this one. Will a tricentennial in 2076 be celebrated at all, except perhaps in a rump U.S. centered somewhere in the heartland of the Midwest or South?

'Diversity' Ideal?

It is strange how those pushing diversity as a desired ideal in U.S. domestic population matters have been successful enough to make the word fashionable and chic. All over the world diverse, multicultural, multilingual countries are having enormous trouble achieving any real unity. Many have broken up in internecine conflict, with bloodshed and not infrequently huge loss of life, and others have been held together only through fear and oppression.[8] Where are the reassuring examples of authentic multiculturalism within nations today? There are none. Even in basic meaning, the terms unity and diversity are diametrically opposite. Cultural diversity in measured small amounts can add a certain tang to the mix without threatening a nation's unity, but unlimited diversity can easily lead to unlimited chaos. Once again we see the powerful effect of numbers in human affairs, whether looking at the aggregate or at specific segments of the population.

"If present levels of immigration to America continue for two or three more decades, the time frame for a likely dissolution of the United States would in all probability be not in the next century but in this one."

In the natural world, scientists and nonscientists alike know that small doses and large doses of almost anything are *qualitatively* different. Medicines must be

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carefully monitored as to dosage. Needed vitamins all have toxic dose levels. Gorge yourself on any kind of food or drink and you will soon regret it. There is a toxic dose even of the substances most basic for life. Although one cannot live for more than a matter of days without water, there have been cases of people dying from compulsive drinking of even that substance. One cannot survive for more than some minutes without oxygen replenishment, but if you breathe pure oxygen for too long you will not survive either.[9]

The human body properly grows greatly in size from infancy to adulthood, but at some point it must stop growing or early death will be the certain result – and within quite narrow limits. A few persons with gland disorders have grown to over eight or nine feet in height, but these unfortunates do not have long life spans. Gigantism is not a desirable state of affairs in the human species or in any species. And uncontrolled growth in particular parts of the human body – known as cancer – is universally feared.

There is no reason to think such limits do not apply to human population growth in general or to immigration in particular, and every reason to think they do. Yet many today follow intellectual leaders who tell them that no such limits apply to either.

The school of opinion which assures us that economic expansion has no limits in the foreseeable future suggests to the naively trusting that such expansion can sustain many times the populations of today. Even if this might still be true in a few selected regions, apparently forgotten are the billions who already live hard-pressed against what the land can provide in Africa, many parts of Asia, and not excluding considerable regions in the Western Hemisphere. It must also be asked at what *level* can people be provided for, from finite resources. In the industrialized West we may not yet have reached the potential limits of our present high level of living, although even here the costs of such expansion are becoming increasingly apparent in less open space available, the greater efforts needed in extracting resources from the earth with attendant increasing costs, and greater tensions between people in competing for rights to use them in more and more crowded surroundings.

Going hand in hand with the "no-limits" philosophy is the school, particularly ascendant in the United States, that continued or even increased immigration is an unmitigated good, its problems transitory; that cultural problems will dissolve if we only practice mutual goodwill; and that our culture will be immeasurably enriched by a multiplicity of very different cultures speaking many different languages (which must be preserved) and with very different traditional values, which not only must be nurtured but to which our own traditional values must be subordinated. The result, this school implies, will be one big diverse national family. Note the mutual incompatability of the last two adjectives. And note the horribly catastrophic breakup of the diverse "national family" of former Yugoslavia, not to mention equally bitter ethnic-cultural tensions that have periodically erupted into open conflict in a hundred other multicultural countries around the globe.

In another manifestation of the multicultural school of thought, open-borders advocates want to abolish illegal immigration *by letting any and all come in as they will*. This, of course, would instantly increase both the numbers of immigrants as well as making this country even more a diversity dumping ground (which now, as we have seen unmistakably, includes terrorists who wish nothing but ill for the United States).

Even now it is becoming clear that America's indulgence in cultural diversity is dividing the population against itself. The natives are bewildered and become defensive as a result of invited and uninvited cultural clashes. The new immigrant groups draw together in clumps (which in cities are called ghettos, and which on a regional scale can become incipient nations). And, observing the present drive for diversity and lack of pressures on immigrants to become American, many immigrant groups respond (surprise!) by staying foreign – a situation very different from previous immigration waves in this country, when the dominant drive was to become American as quickly as possible. Today, the larger and more concentrated the group the more likely are its members to remain foreigners, drawing in effect their own "national" boundaries.

Ethnic Strife

Not only that, some of the various immigrant

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groups are squaring off against other groups of immigrants. A few years ago when I was living in Bishop, California, I had occasion to talk with a house painter from the Lake Tahoe area who was passing through on his way home from Los Angeles. He had gone there seeking work in his trade since business had been slow at home. Spending the better part of a year on various jobs in Los Angeles as a low-level supervisor wielding a brush himself, he found himself dealing chiefly with Mexican and Guatemalan immigrant workers, mostly illegals. During our conversation he pointed out that the two kept as separate as possible, and when they were thrown together on the same job the simmering tension was obvious. As an Anglo, he was able to observe both "Hispanic" groups as a third party. (Guatemalans have been in the U.S. for less time than Mexicans, are generally poorer and will work for lesser wages than Mexicans – thus undercutting their wage level, just as Mexicans have undercut wages of Anglos in their trade and caused many to move out of it. And it is no coincidence that Guatemalans in Mexico are reviled there.)

"Immigration of the kind and on the scale America has had for the last three decades is in effect a recipe for cultural suicide and the squandering of a rich national heritage..."

"The Mexicans hate the Guatemalans and the Guatemalans hate the Mexicans," he told me in frustration, with the clear implication that the mutual feeling between the two is visceral and goes far beyond just wage problems. There it is in a nutshell. The accumulated stress he felt after working for many months in this environment led him to give up on Los Angeles, where there was plenty of work albeit at lower wages, and pick up and go back to Lake Tahoe where work was still scarce but without such tensions on the job when he did find one.

This is but one small sample of the sort of cultural tension that immigration enthusiasts are inviting while they roll open the welcome mat to any and all who want to move into the country. Immigration is naively looked upon by those promoting it, some favoring wholly uncontrolled entry, as a desirable tool to foster ever more diversity.

Immigration of the kind and on the scale America has had for the last three decades is in effect a recipe for cultural suicide and the squandering of a rich national heritage, in a nation that just one generation ago was essentially unified as a culture. What can we anticipate in one more generation?

Much has been made of strains between blacks and whites in the United States. Although these undeniably have had large and serious effects, in reality American whites and blacks have more in common culturally with each other than they do with most of the recent immigrant groups (or for that matter, more than the latter have with one another). One basic point of convergence is that blacks and whites both speak the same tongue – *language* being the most conspicuous single mark of cultural identity – while immigrant groups speaking a hundred different languages are now being encouraged to retain those in the name of diversity, which promotes their continued separation both from one another and from the American mainstream. By contrast, American blacks are more like American whites than probably either group realizes at present. Having lived on this continent nearly as long as whites, even allowing for their historically different circumstances blacks over the centuries have become in key respects as American as anyone in attitudes and values. As time goes on this may well become increasingly apparent to both groups as they find themselves among rising numbers of immigrants, most of whose home cultures are very different indeed and whom are being encouraged officially and unofficially to resist assimilation.

A Strange Silence

Moreover, immigration is obviously an increasingly large part of both existing and future dangers of overpopulation in the United States. Yet some of those who should be the most concerned about this have been strangely silent on immigration,

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even to the point of ignoring the fact that this influx is now the largest contributor to the country's ongoing population increase.

The Sierra Club, for example. That organization long has had a reputation of championing environmental preservation, including population stabilization as a means of making this preservation possible. But in 1996 its Board of Directors decided that the Club would "take no position on immigration levels, or on policies governing immigration into the United States." Its president, Carl Pope, stated that since the excess of population is worldwide, "restricting immigration into the United States will not solve the environmental problems caused by global overpopulation." Thus the Club neatly washed its hands of any moral imperative to further its basic aims, by opposing what has become the driving force in the burgeoning of the U.S. population.

This separation of global and American population problems is a curious dichotomy. What can the Sierra Club do to limit world population growth? Virtually nothing. But its influence on such issues in the United States is considerable. And even if it could somehow exert a restraining effect on world population, this position would leave the United States as the main dumping ground for the world's present excess of population, with no end in sight. Most people had thought the Sierra Club staunchly opposed dumping of any kind. The copout – no other word better describes it – was quite obviously a capitulation to pressure from Politically Correct ideologues who have been labeling any effort to limit immigration as bigotry toward "people of color" who now constitute the bulk of immigrants to the United States.

The Sierra Club is hardly the only environmental organization complicit in the copout. Others that one would expect to oppose large-scale immigration as a necessary part of any population control efforts – but do not – include Zero Population Growth (belying its very name), the Audubon Society, the League of Conservation Voters, and the Green Party of California, all of which have likewise caved in to race-baiting of the Politically Correct variety.[10]

On the right, there is the editorial board of *The Wall Street Journal*, which pushes for open borders and diversity while at the same time being pro-assimilation and opposing multiculturalism – as if admitting massive numbers of immigrants with profoundly different cultural backgrounds and values does not undermine assimilation and promote the very multiculturalism it so properly opposes.

What should be obvious by now is that immigration of the kind produced by the 1965 law is precisely what fuels multiculturalism. When ethnic diversity dominates in a population within the same borders, multicultural dissonance – with groups working at cross-purposes that can easily degenerate into open conflict – becomes rife. That same newspaper has reported many times on such frictions and conflict elsewhere in the world, but turns a blind eye to the sources of similar danger in the United States.

In its pro-immigration stand *The Wall Street Journal* is scarcely a lone voice on the right, either. This view is shared by libertarians, by a number of influential conservative economists who liberally advocate raw growth, and by employers who want cheap and subservient labor. All these additionally wish to share in the praise for their tolerance and magnanimity along with political liberals, for whom that yearning is a chief motive. Thus we have an impromptu alliance on these matters between the left and many weighty voices on the right, a coalition that has so far proven unshakable.

Then there are members of both houses of Congress belonging to both major parties, forming a majority for now at least, who either believe in the Politically Correct dogma, or wish to curry favor with its advocates, or have been cowed by their shrill voices. And sadly, President Bush himself seems to share that dogma, as shown by his advocacy of more open borders and a second amnesty for illegal immigrants. One hopes the attacks of September 11th may have produced second thoughts on this, but there is little hard evidence of it as yet.

People don't like to have to face unpleasant topics, such as the likely and even certain consequences of continued massive immigration and unchecked population growth, and therein lies the danger: that in not squarely facing them now, little will be done about these intertwined problems before it's too late to avoid those consequences.

Native-born Americans have in recent decades reduced their birth rate to slightly below replacement

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levels, which if continued will, not long hence, result in zero population growth for the group. This trend, applying to the aggregate of whites and blacks, could be an encouraging fact if viewed in isolation. But in truth it cannot realistically be so viewed. For the side of the equation that simply can't be ignored is the great and still growing immigration flow, which for three decades running has overwhelmingly consisted of both visibly and linguistically different Third-World peoples coming from cultures vastly unlike that of the present American majority. Many of the current groups of immigrants and their descendants show considerably higher fertility rates than the present American white-black majority. The influx has already reduced black Americans from their historic status of largest American minority to second largest, the largest official minority now comprising those with Hispanic surnames. In a few more decades Americans of European origin will likely become a minority, and in not much more time no longer even the largest group, Hispanics becoming first a plurality and then a majority, with blacks reduced to third place. (Again, those who doubt this are invited to show evidence that without major immigration reform this is unlikely to happen). Whatever the resulting societal changes, these would clearly be enormous, and more likely disastrously chaotic than evolutionary.

If no effective brakes are applied to immigration, legal and illegal, – and soon – present demographic trends will continue for the foreseeable future, with results that will be by their very nature irreversible. Any beneficial effects of lower birth rates and population growth among whites and blacks in terms of reducing population pressures will go for naught, as the numbers of post-1970 immigrants and their descendants continue to balloon the overall population to the point that the United States will become as crowded as China and India are now – or more so. U.S. Census projections indicate this might happen by century's end.

Demographic Suicide?

This brings up the question: Is a nation, or a people morally obligated to commit demographic suicide by being responsible in limiting its reproduction, all the while applying the *coup de grace* by allowing immigrants to enter the country in numbers that overwhelm this restraint?

What is the solution? Simply to get serious on real immigration reform, along with regaining control of U.S. borders. The illegal flow could be stopped or at least reduced to a trickle in short order if the political will to get tough on it were mustered – as sooner or later it must be – including the finding and deporting of illegals already here. (All this was done in the mid-1950s when a major illegal influx from Mexico that had become chronic was stopped cold during the Eisenhower administration). The likewise out-of-control flow of legal immigrants could be checked with an oft-suggested but as yet not seriously considered moratorium on immigration for several years, which would give the country a breathing space during which new priorities can be sorted out as to how many and whom can be prudently admitted to the national family.

After such a pause immigration need not, and probably should not, be cut off entirely. Garrett Hardin's suggestion that the proper goal should be *zero net* immigration makes much sense, with new immigrants being limited to the same numbers as emigrants who leave.[11] The latter, though smaller than the number of migrants coming into the country, has always been appreciable. In recent years, estimates of those leaving have typically been running around 200,000 per year, somewhere around a quarter the numbers of immigrants admitted legally. Such measured levels of immigration could be large enough to add a stimulating bit of spice without becoming divisive. And replacement-level immigration combined with the current replacement-level fertility would bring to an end the ballooning of the U.S. population, provided the illegal flow is stopped.

The national family ... In its original and true sense, a *nation* is a large, cohesive group of people with a sense of shared identity – the largest group that shares it. Without exception it speaks a single language, a strong "glue," an indispensable key to holding it together. A nation is indeed similar to a family in many ways, having a common understanding and loyalty on the most vital and basic matters although not every member need see eye to eye on everything. A family has a home with walls, as a nation-state has a territory with borders, inhabited by people who see themselves as part of it.

This is precisely what is threatened by the present

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huge flow of immigrants to America from many diverse and often mutually antagonistic cultures. Present levels of immigration cannot – *cannot* – be maintained indefinitely, nor for that matter much longer, without disastrous, even terminal consequences for this nation. No responsible family would invite just anyone from the street into its home as a guest, let alone as a permanent family member, no matter how much compassion its members might feel for such a person (or many of them!). Promiscuous compassion, so much advocated in influential circles today, will ultimately destroy both the giver and the receiver.

"Promiscuous compassion, so much advocated in influential circles today, will ultimately destroy both the giver and the receiver."

Families instinctively realize this. But the American nation– which still *is* one nation with basically one language, though this too is now being undermined – does not yet seem to realize it, at least not its present intellectual and political elites nor even its economic elite. A clear majority of Americans is ahead of the elites on this matter. That realization will inevitably come, even to the anointed. But will it come in time – or too late to prevent national disintegration along ethnic-cultural lines?

We have seen internal cultural strife erupt again and again throughout history in multicultural countries in all parts of the world. What will it take to bring this reality home – short of a nationwide unraveling and falling apart at seams incapable of being stitched back together? There may yet be time to avert this. But not a lot of it. ■

NOTES

1. See Craig Straub, "Living in a World of Limits: An interview with noted biologist Garrett Hardin," *The Social Contract,* Vol. VIII, No. 1, Fall 1997, p. 27.

2. The U.S. share of the earth's land is a full point higher at 6.3 percent with Alaska included, but that large and fascinating region can never support population densities comparable to those of the rest of the country. And, speaking as one who has lived there, Alaskans like it that way.

3. Garrett Hardin, "Living on a Lifeboat," originally in *BioScience*, vol. 24 (Oct. 1974), p. 561-68. This famous essay has been reprinted in numerous sources, including recently in *The Social Contract*, Vol. XII, No. 1, Fall 2001, pp.36-47, along with five other Hardin selections.

4. Taking 2^{17} x 6 billion, then dividing by earth's land area in square miles (57.9 million), and reducing the resulting density to square feet.

5. The most recent estimate of which I am aware, reported by *The Washington Post* in 2001, put the number of illegals in the U.S. at 9 to 11 million "or higher." Other estimates have ranged as high as 13 million. None of these count the 2.7 million former illegals rendered legal by the "amnesty" whose peak years were 1989-93. A second amnesty now under consideration would almost certainly dwarf the first one.

6. Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation* (Random House, 1995). See particularly Chart 8 ("'The Wedge': U.S. Population with and without Immigration, 1970-2050"), p. 47.

7. Careless usage aside, *racism* and *fascism* are not equivalent terms. Germany's Nazi government was racist. Italy's Fascist government was not.

8. These kinds of problems have been discussed by the present writer with numerous examples in a world survey, "Immigration, Ethnic Strife, Nations – and America." *The Social Contract*, Vol. X, No. 3, Spring 2000, pp. 161-77. Switzerland, often thoughtlessly cited as a multicultural model, is in fact a loose confederation comprising in effect four nations, which has deliberately and successfully *avoided* multiculturalism.

9. All this has been realized for a long time. Paracelsus, a 16th century German-Swiss pharmacologist, wrote, "All things are poison and nothing is without poison. It is the dose that makes a thing poison." (Quoted by Will Hively in *Discover*, Dec. 2002, p. 74).

10. For more on this, see Diana Hull, "Cry, the Overcrowded Country," *The Social Contract*, Vol. IX, No. 4, Summer 1999, pp. 219-223; and Stuart Hurlbert, "The Globalist Copout," *Ibid*, Spring 2000, pp. 191-192.

11. Hardin, "Zero Net Immigration as the Goal." *Population and Environment*, vol. 14 (1992), pp. 197-200 (Human Sciences Press, Inc.). Reprinted with minor additions under the title "Free Immigration, the Enemy of Free Enterprise," in *The Immigration Dilemma: Avoiding the Tragedy of the Commons* (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1995), pp. 121-124. The latter also contains seminal Hardin pieces such as "The Tragedy of the Commons," "Living on a Lifeboat," "Carrying Capacity as an Ethical Concept," etc.

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The Wrong Answer

Immigration is not the right way to fix Social Security

by John Attarian

[*Immigration enthusiasts, including the Cato Institute, Ben Wattenberg, and the* Wall Street Journal, *claim that importing even more immigrants will save the Social Security system by injecting additional payments to help keep the program afloat. Like most of their other assertions, this one isn't true. Dr. John Attarian, a regular contributor to* The Social Contract, *has just written a monograph dissecting this proposition. We are pleased to publish the Executive Summary and urge readers to study the entire report.*]

The Social Security program, which taxes labor incomes to pay benefits to retirees, survivors of deceased Social Security taxpayers, and disabled persons, will face a crisis as the large Baby Boom generation retires and collects benefits, but is supported by the smaller generation of taxpayers born after 1965. With the number of taxpayers supporting each beneficiary declining, tax rates mandated by current law will not suffice to pay all benefits mandated by current law. By 2041, Social Security will be unable to pay full benefits on time.

Because this crisis is driven by the demographics of an aging population, supporters of immigration such as Julian Simon and Ben Wattenberg have argued that increasing immigration will significantly strengthen Social Security's finances, perhaps even solve the problem altogether. On an intuitive level, this is an obvious answer: if the essential problem is an older beneficiary population growing faster than the population of younger taxpaying workers, the thing to do is to add more younger workers.

Some opponents of immigration retort that the Social Security crisis is not real, arguing that only minor changes in taxes and benefits will suffice to keep the program solvent, or that the total dependancy ratio (the ratio of the population of children and elderly to the population of working-age adults) will be little changed by the retirement of the Baby Boomers because the cohort of children will be smaller. Neither of these arguments is tenable. Eliminating Social Security's long-term actuarial deficit through changes in taxes and benefits will still leave large annual cash deficits in the distant future, which must be covered by the Treasury. And since Social Security is primarily a program for supporting the elderly, the only ratio that really matters is that between the elderly and the working-age adult populations; the children are irrelevant.

So the Social Security crisis is real. But it does not follow that immigration is the cure. Immigrationists, drawing on a 1998 study by Stephen Moore, claim that immigrants are already "keeping Social Security afloat." Moore argued that net immigration (immigration minus emigration) of 800,000 a year was already contributing $1,934 billion (1998 dollars) to Social Security's revenues over the 1998-2072 period, and that an increase of annual net immigration to one million would raise immigration's revenue contribution to $2,418 billion. Therefore, immigration would be crucial to any solution to Social Security's problems. But Moore's study rests on a confusion of three totally unrelated concepts: unfunded liability, long-term actuarial deficit, and the sum of inflarionadjusted revenues. It also employs an unsound method,

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applying results obtained from the Social Security actuaries' immigration sensitivity test, which rests on present-value figures, to summed inflation-adjusted tax revenues. Finally, while Moore's figures for immigration's alleged contributions to Social Security's revenues look impressive in isolation, they collapse into insignificance when stood beside Social Security's inflation-adjusted total revenues for1998-2072 of $53,752 billion, total outlays of $70,086 billion, and deficit of -$16,334 billion. Increasing annual immigration to one million would increase revenue by 0.9 percent and reduce the deficit by just 3.0 percent. The inescapable conclusion is that immigrants are hardly "keeping Social Security afloat" and that massive increases in immigration will not do much to save it. Other claims by immigration advocates about immigration's contributions to Social Security also collapse when put in context. For example, the Urban Institute claimed that illegal immigrants paid 52.7 billion in Social Security taxes in 1990. This comes to 0.91 percent of the $296.1 billion in payroll tax revenues for 1990. In that year Social Security paid $247.8 billion in benefits, or $679 a day. The illegals' alleged revenue contribution would have covered benefit costs for just *four days*.

Peter Francese of *American Demographics* maintained that Social Security's problems could be solved if we admitted enough immigrants to keep the ratio of taxpayers to beneficiaries at its current level. It turns out, however, that following this prescription would result in an immigrant flood, with America admitting up to five or six million adult immigrants annually as the Baby Boomers retire. Moreover, immigrants get old, too, and supporting this huge population of immigrant taxpayers when they become Social Security beneficiaries would require another massive wave of immigration. All in all, we would have to more than double our labor force by adding 183.6 million immigrants and their adult children by 2080. That does not take into account elderly immigrants and minor children who, of course, would also arrive.

"The inescapable conclusion is that immigrants are hardly "keeping Social Security afloat" ... massive increases in immigration will not do much to save it."

Ben Wattenberg argued that immigration is "the easy solution to the Social Security crisis" because it immediately increases the population of working-age, taxpaying adults. If we doubled our annual net immigration, he argued, it would reduce Social Security's deficit by 28 percent. It turns out that Wattenberg's argument is based on the Social Security actuaries' immigration sensitivity test, in which the assumed level of immigration is changed, all other variables are held constant, and Social Security's long-term actuarial balance is recalculated, in order to see how much difference changing the immigration assumption makes for this figure. The sensitivity test implies that to totally eliminate the long-term actuarial deficit, we would have to quadruple our annual net immigration, to some 3,600,000 a year. The need for such massive doses implies that the immigration medicine is pretty weak. Comparison of the results of the immigration sensitivity test to those for other variables affecting Social Security's long-term actuarial deficit (e.g., death rates, fertility, growth in real wages) confirms that verdict.

Moreover, Wattenberg's argument is simplistic, because it assumes that immigration has only one, positive effect on Social Security's outlook: immigrants take jobs and pay Social Security taxes. This rests on a shallow and simplistic misuse of the sensitivity test, which holds all other variables in the actuarial calculation constant in order to determine how much varying one assumption matters for the long-term actuarial deficit. In reality, other variables do not hold still. Enormous increases in immigration would, naturally, affect things like labor productivity and wages, and since Social Security is financed by taxes on labor incomes, these will

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in turn affect Social Security's revenues. Labor productivity growth and real wage growth improve Social Security's finances. Economic logic and empirical evidence suggest that massive immigration would depress productivity growth, unless the increase in the labor force were matched by an increase in the capital stock, which would require levels of investment which are impossible to attain. It is clear that enormous augmentation of the labor force would depress wages. The implications of these effects for Social Security revenues are obviously negative. It follows that massively increasing immigration will not necessarily improve Social Security's cash flow much, and may even adversely affect it.

Furthermore, the majority of immigrants have little education and low skills, and work in menial, poorly paid jobs. Such poor immigrants are necessarily poor Social Security taxpayers, which implies that adding many more of them is unlikely to raise revenue enough to save the program. As for the highly skilled immigrants who work in the information technology sector, revenue gains from this source are offset by the widespread use of contract labor under the H-1B program whereby no Social Security taxes are paid by the immigrants or their American employers; by the lower salaries paid to immigrant workers as opposed to Americans, which means lower revenues for Social Security; and by displacement of American workers into lower-paying jobs, which also entails revenue losses.

Moreover, the National Research Council's 1997 study on the economic and fiscal impact of immigrants, *The New Americans*, when examined rigorously, does not support the immigrationists' argument that immigrants are a massive net fiscal gain. The study's finding that admitting an additional immigrant has a net present value to federal, state, and local finances of $80,000 (i.e., revenue gains exceed benefit and other costs by $80,000 in today's dollars) obtains over a 300-year time horizon, and depends decisively on an assumption that in 2016 Congress decides to stabilize the ratio of gross federal debt to Gross Domestic Product at the 2016 level by raising taxes and cutting spending, and maintain it there indefinitely. Other examinations of immigration's contribution to public finances and to Social Security by professional economists found that immigration's contribution would be small, or that even skilled-based immigration would have to be enormously increased to be of help.

The case for increasing immigration to save Social Security, then, is illusory. Moreover, such a massive increase in America's population as this strategy would entail would calamitously overload our environment. Water resources, already strained by our high consumption, would shrivel under the burden. The need for more land to accommodate the far-larger population would collide with the need to cultivate more land in order to feed it. Finally, population growth accounts for virtually all of America's increase in energy use, and immigration is the main force driving population growth. Meanwhile, according to many well-informed petroleum geologists, the world's extraction of conventional oil will probably peak some time in this decade and then go into an irreversible decline. Alternative energy sources are either highly energy-costly to develop or of only limited use. In that context, massively increasing immigration will be a disaster. Further problems are the risk of Balkanization, increased crime, terrorism at home, and the possibility that non-white immigrants would understandably balk at paying taxes to support mostly white American Social Security beneficiaries.

When al these collateral negatives are added to the fictive positive, the only conclusion is that increasing immigration to shore up Social Security is a massively wrong answer.

There are, finally, grave moral problems with the immigration solution to Social Security. It would tax mostly poor immigrants to support more affluent Americans because we lack the courage to put our fiscal house in order, and it would leave to our descendants a crime-ridden and Balkanized nation, a crippled economy, and a ruined ecosystem. ■

[*The full text of Dr. Attarian's 60-page monograph is available at The Social Contract Press for $6.00. Call 1-800-352-4843.*]

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Voter Fraud Discovered

Could be as high as 37 percent in some areas in California

by Dean Gardner

For the last 30 years, I have heard about voter fraud in California, but it did not affect me directly and like you, I didn't pay much attention. I didn't realize how much voter fraud impacts all of us until recently.

In the seven months since the election, we have looked in detail at 2,460 of the 14,000 recently registered Democrat voters in Kern County that are registered to vote in the 30th Assembly District. I was shocked and dismayed by what we found.

I cannot give you any names or addresses because of the ongoing investigations.

In order to cast a legal vote in California, the voter must be at least 18 years old, must be alive, must be a Citizen of the United States, must not be a felon on parole, must be registered to vote and live in that district and that voter can vote only one time in that election.

Of the 2,460 voters that were examined 905 of these people in this sample cast fraudulent ballots.

For example, we found:

- 69 people actually admitted voting at least twice. These are just the ones who admitted it.
- 93 people admitted that they voted but are not citizens of the United States. They were told that if they registered and voted, it would help them get their citizenship.
- 272 people actually admitted that they do not live in the 30th Assembly District but that they voted in the 30th Assembly District

We found people who changed the spelling of their name slightly so that they could register and vote a second time. Someone named William also registered as Bill. We found people with the same name registered at the same address whose birthdays were exactly one year or one day apart. By changing their birth date, one person became two people with two votes.

The biggest problem that we found was the number of people who showed up at the polls and voted using someone else's name. We have testimony from people who report that they went to vote and found that their name had already been used. People impersonated the legitimate voter. How did they do that? A lot of people are registered but don't vote. Hanging on the wall in every polling place in the State of California is a list of the people that are eligible to vote at that polling place. By state law, every two hours, an election worker up dates the list with the names of the people who have voted. The cheaters send in someone with a cell phone to call back to the headquarters with the names of the people who have not voted. People claiming to be those people miraculously show up and vote.

We found 905 fraudulent ballots out of 2,460 voters. You do the math. Divide 905 by 2,460 you will get 37 percent. We estimate that 37 percent of the newly-registered Democrat voters who voted in the Kern County portion of the 30th Assembly District cast fraudulent votes.

What we found in Kern County was seen all over California. Some places worse than others. There is a well-oiled and well-funded fraud machine run by

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***Dean Gardner** is a businessman who lost his bid for a seat in the California Assembly by a mere 187 votes on November 5, 2002. This statement was made as a news release in Bakersfield, California on June 12, 2003. The Dean Gardner Volunteers found 905 fraudulent votes in their investigation which centered on the Kern County portion of the 30th California Assembly District.*

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liberal special interest groups that may be electing people to the legislature who should not be there and they are destroying our freedoms in California.

Let me give you some examples of the fraud. We have people who registered in October at a house that burned down two years ago. We have people registered to addresses that don't exist. We have people who voted last November at the polls who actually had moved to the Philippines two years ago.

I personally spoke to one man who admitted voting four times. I asked him why and he said that he cared more than most. I went with a volunteer to one house at random where seven votes originated and asked the woman how many people lived there. She said three. When asked about the other four voters, she said that her two daughters and their husbands always use her address to vote. They do not live in the 30th District. They just vote here.

The information that we have discovered was turned over to the Kern County District Attorney's Office and to the Secretary of State's fraud unit six months ago.

We have just handed the same information to the US Attorney's Office.

Voter fraud is an attack on our basic freedoms and I cannot and will not sit back and watch it continue.

Last November, California voters turned down "same day voter registration." Well, the liberal special interest groups in Sacramento did not get the message, because the Assembly just passed a bill allowing for same day registration in Alameda County. They call it a pilot program. We can not rely on the special interest liberals in Sacramento to stop the voter fraud. As you know, under current law identification is not required either to register or to vote, in fact, if you, as a poll worker or election official, ask a person to prove their identity, *you* have broken the law.

Therefore, I am announcing that immediately after the Gray Davis Recall is completed, I will sponsor a statewide initiative that will help clean up the voter fraud problem. It will require proof of eligibility and proof of identity when a person registers to vote and proof of identity when a person does vote.

If you buy something and write a check or use a credit card, you must have identification. If you want to get on an airplane in you must show photo ID. It seems logical to me to require people to produce identification when they vote. It seems ridiculous to me that we allow people to walk into the polls, point at a name and say, "That's me" and vote without any verification as to their identity.

One man told me "If we didn't cheat, we couldn't win."

We have a group of people with no integrity attacking our basic freedoms. As you know, I served in the military and I swore to protect the Constitution of the United States. This is one way I can help do that. It is time to put California back in the hands of the people. ■

LOS ANGELES (AP) – May 16, 2003. Two days after federal immigration officials unveiled a national "Most Wanted" list of illegal immigrants convicted of various crimes, officers here arrested two men on the list who were in hiding to avoid a deportation order.

Arrests of a 41-year-old Ecuadorean and a Mexican national were announced Thursday by the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (BICE). Albert Vinicio Torres, convicted of a lewd act with a child, was arrested Wednesday. He is being held at a detention facility in Lancaster pending deportation. Esteban Grajiola-Mora, also convicted of a lewd act with a child, was arrested Tuesday in Rialto, said Francisco Arcaute, a spokesman for the bureau. He was returned to Mexico the same day.

"These are individuals who have served time in the U.S. and were given a removal order and they chose instead to skip town," Arcaute said.

Everyone on the list, which was unveiled in Washington, D.C. on Tuesday, have been ordered deported by an immigration judge, Arcaute said.

The newly combined Customs and Immigration agencies, now part of the Department of Homeland Security, received an additional $10 million to fund the Fugitive Operations Initiative, Arcaute said.

"We have decided to direct additional resources to detain individuals because they are convicted criminals convicted of hard crimes and we're just trying to get them off the street," Arcaute said.

[The BICE list of "Most Wanted Criminal Aliens" is online at: http://www.bice.immigration.gov/graphics/detention/mostwanted.pdf.]

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Federal Money for Refugee Resettlement

Religious groups receive large amounts

by Wayne Lutton

The United States currently admits up to 70,000 refugees annually. Refugees are supposed to demonstrate that they have suffered past persecution or have a well-founded fear of future persecution in their home country, based on their race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular "social group," or because of their political opinions. Once granted refugee status, persons are permitted to bring other members of their family ("family chain migration") to the United States. They are also entitled to government benefits available to American citizens.

Department of Homeland Security officials suggest that over fifty percent of the refugee petitioners are fraudulent. Bogus applicants lie about their situations and family relationships. Successful applicants often sell "family slots" to non-family members.

Following is a sample list of agencies receiving federal tax dollars to offer services to "refugees" during the year 2000. Not only do these agencies secure millions of dollars, they promote further mass migration, including the extension of refugee and asylum programs. Such organizations form a network of self-interested boosters.

COMMUNITY SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM: (total awarded: $11,162,769). These funds are for assimilating refugees into American communities (including language training and jobs):

Arab American and Chaldean Council, Lathrup Village, MI – $456,000
Cambodian Association of America of Long Beach, CA – $2,662,969
Jewish Vocational Services of Kansas City, MO – $247,597
Lutheran Social Services of New England, Natick, MA – $452,804
[partial listing]

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT PROGRAM (total awarded: $10,095,171). Individual development accounts are matching savings accounts available for the purchase of specific assets. Under this program, the matching funds, together with the refugee's own savings, are available for fulfilling one (or more) of five savings goals: home purchase or renovation; microenterprise capitalization; education or training; purchase of an automobile if necessary to maintain or upgrade employment; and purchase of a computer in support of a refugee's education or training.

Catholic Charities of San Diego – $852,600
International Rescue Committee, Phoenix, – $199,871
Alliance for Multicultural Community Services, Houston, – $1,261,620
Lutheran Social Services of Northeast Florida, Jacksonville, FL – $400,000
Chinatown Manpower Project New York, NY – $200,000
New York Association for New Americans, New York, NY – $720,515
Wisconsin Community Action Program, Madison, WI – $400,000
[partial listing]

TARGETED ASSISTANCE DISCRETIONARY GRANTS: (total $7,908,354). Awarded to states to implement special employment services not implemented with formula social services or with TAG Formula grants.

- California – $949,649 for employment assistance for youth and parents, family violence prevention, family day care and literacy training, licensed vocational nursing training, employment and placement services.
- Texas – $286,855 for family violence prevention, Sudanese MAA support groups on women's issues, and ESL (English as Second Language) classes.

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., *is editor of* The Social Contract.

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- Wisconsin – $3,621,744 for employment training, microenterprise development, case management, parenting assistance, tutoring and ESL after school for at-risk youth, mental health assessment, case management, counseling, family violence prevention and intervention services.
- Ohio – $362,792 to assist eligible refugees, particularly women, find work within a year after arrival.

[partial listing]

"Funds are made available for grants to voluntary agencies to increase placements of newly arriving refugees in preferred communities where there is a history of low welfare utilization and a favorable earned income potential relative to the cost of living."

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE (no total given)

U.S. Catholic Conference – $400,000
Institute for Social and Economic Development – $450,000
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service – $368,682
Spring Institute for International Studies – $275,000

LOAN FUNDS are given to refugees to start businesses with the average loan being $7.187 which is leveraged against additional matching funds from other sources. Under this program these were some of the awards:

World Relief Nashville, TN – $169,264
Research and Development Institute of Houston, TX – $150,000
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, Miami, FL – $150,000

COMMUNITY AND FAMILY STRENGTHENING AND INTEGRATION: (Total $11,565,015). These funds are used to serve refugees in the areas of English language training; parent/school relationships; intergenerational family values; youth development; crime prevention; spouse and child abuse intervention; citizenship promotion; community activities. Some examples:

- Catholic Legal Immigration Network to lead a national consortium of ten partner agencies to assist refugees with a full range of professional accredited citizenship services adjunct to filing the application ($700,000).
- National Immigration Forum collaborating with Positive Communications, the Tarrance Group and Lord Media ($310,000) to teach refugee leaders how to develop and implement effective communication programs and to work with the media.
- Lincoln Interfaith Council with Asian Community and Cultural Center ($137,063) for Iraqi community development and citizenship services.
- Amherst Wilder Foundation ($371,363) for community capacity building and leadership training.

And many more focusing on domestic violence prevention and at-risk /violent children programs.

ALTERNATIVE PROJECTS FOR COMPREHENSIVE REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT SERVICES: total $9,075,883, designed to provide interim financial assistance, support services, and case management to newly arriving refugees in a manner that encourages refugee self-sufficiency.

- Catholic Charities, California, in partnership with International Rescue Committee, Jewish Family Services, and Alliance for African Assistance – $3,619,950
- Colorado Department of Human Services, along with Lutheran Refugees, Ecumenical Refugee Services, Jewish Family Services, Rounding MT. Survivor Center, and Spring Institute for International Studies – $1,905,000.
- Mountain States Group of Boise, Idaho, in partnership with World Relief, Immigration and Refugee Services, and Episcopal Migration Ministries – $974,584.
- North Dakota Department of Human Services, in partnership with Lutheran Social Services –

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$475,000

PREFERRED COMMUNITIES: (total $2,001,320). Seeks to promote opportunities for refugee self-sufficiency and effective resettlement. To that end funds are made available for grants to voluntary agencies to increase placements of newly arriving refugees in preferred communities where there is a history of low welfare utilization and a favorable earned income potential relative to the cost of living.

- International Rescue Committee of Atlanta, GA and Phoenix, AZ – $235,584.
- Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services of Baltimore, MD; Atlanta, GA; Sioux Falls, SD; Trenton, NJ; and Milwaukee, WI. – $322,834.
- Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Episcopal Migration Ministries: Tucson AZ; Boise, ID; Lexington, KY – $364,645.
- Immigration and Refugee Services of America at Bowling Green, KY; Bridgeport, CT; Colchester, VT; Buffalo, NY; Twin Falls, ID; Erie, PA; Manchester, NH – $580,000.

This is a partial listing. Programs were also funded by $3,077,334 to provide special services under the preferred communities grants to newly arriving refugees that are HIV positive: Boston, Chicago, San Diego, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Brooklyn, Minneapolis, Seattle, Houston, Providence, Salt Lake City, Grand Rapids, Portland, and Phoenix.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROGRAMS: total $1,278,956.

- Ethiopian Community Development Center Virginia ($110,000) to conduct outreach to newly arrived refugees from Africa via weekly radio program and monthly newsletter; cross-cultural orientation to 200 refugees; workshops for service providers; mentoring programs between arriving African refugee families and African-American families.
- Catholic Charities of Boston (similar to the above) – $56,067.

ETHNIC COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS: A total of $2,680,866 was awarded to groups that provided self-help networks, developed newsletters and web sites to enhance ethnic community interaction, and conducted self-assessment and leadership training. Some examples:

Free Iraq Foundation, Washington, DC – $415,306
Kurdish Human Rights Watch, Vienna, VA, – $320,000
National Coalition for Haitian rights, New York, NY – $300,000
International Rescue Committee, Atlanta, GA – $71,199 Kurdish Iraqi Organization
Iraqi Community Association of San Francisco, CA, $189,634
Iraqi Association of Arizona – $180,000
ROZA Promotions, Staten Island, NY, – $100,000 for Liberian Organizing

EDUCATION GRANTS: (total $17,820,799) to state education agencies for public schools to assist local education agencies with the impact of large enrollments of refugee children; assistance to teachers and other school staff in improving their understanding of refugee children and their families.

Arizona – $296,020
California – $2,016,380
Florida – $2,000,000
Idaho – $150,000
Michigan – $1,000,000
Minnesota – $1,000,000
North Dakota – $170,000
Connecticut – $387,706

ELDERLY REFUGEES: $6,032,742 was awarded to such states as Minnesota, Massachusetts, Ohio, Arizona, Florida, Colorado, California, Texas, Nebraska, and Iowa.

Other discoveries that have been made along the way in this research include:

- The Catholic Legal Immigration Network was awarded a special grant of $282,740.
- There are ten agencies approved to get federal refugee resettlement funds.
- In 1995 the average earnings of the refugee who was working was a bit more than $9/hour. By 2000 that had *dropped* to a little over $7/hour. ■

[*You may access a list of grants awarded at: http://saffron.hhs.gov/taggs.*]

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BUYING OPEN BORDERS *

Foundations play a major role in the immigration debate, but none more so than the Ford Foundation, one of the largest in the U.S. (or in the world, for that matter). The foundation has long bankrolled some of the main opponents of immigration reform. Below is the record of grants to immigration-related recipients.

Ford Foundation Funding of Anti-Immigration-Reform Organizations

(Source: Ford Foundation Annual Reports, 1968-2002)

Year	La Raza [a]	MALDEF [b]	LULAC [c]	NIF [d]	NIP-NLG [e]	Year Total
1968	$630,000	$2,200,000	$0	$0	$0	$2,830,000
1969	$21,595	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21,595
1970	$1,953,700	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,953,700
1971	$150,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$150,000
1972	$800,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$800,000
1973	$485,000	$415,000	$0	$0	$0	$900,000
1974	$425,000	$825,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,250,000
1975	$339,996	$0	$0	$0	$0	$339,996
1976	$271,984	$750,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,021,984
1977	$200,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$200,000
1978	$300,000	$887,200	$0	$0	$0	$1,187,200
1979	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
1980	$232,500	$742,425	$0	$0	$0	$974,925
1981	$240,000	$391,660	$15,200	$0	$0	$646,860
1982	$375,000	$900,000	$0	$0	$0	$1,275,000
1983	$162,732	$822,350	$0	$152,110	$0	$1,137,192
1984	$500,000	$1,400,000	$0	$142,290	$0	$1,042,290
1985	$0	$1,256,000	$0	$55,600	$15,000	$1,326,600
1986	$25,000	$1,300,000	$0	$84,000	$0	$1,409,000
1987	$110,000	$630,000	$0	$517,030	$0	$1,257,030
1988	$830,000	$1,350,000	$0	$235,000	$0	$2,415,000
1989	$452,000	$295,000	$134,000	$435,000	$48,000	$1,364,000
1990	$262,000	$1,575,000	$145,000	$0	$100,000	$2,082,000
1991	$1,250,000	$792,000	$330,000	$460,000	$50,000	$2,882,000
1992	$109,300	$1,545,000	$0	$175,000	$100,000	$1,929,300
1993	$2,850,000	$850,000	$300,000	$567,900	$100,000	$4,667,900
1994	$0	$1,525,000	$0	$535,000	$0	$2,060,000
1995	$3,535,000	$995,000	$450,000	$130,000	$0	$5,110,000
1996	$757,000	$2,325,000	$0	$800,000	$100,000	$3,800,000
1997	$1,315,000	$1,200,000	$0	$770,000	$0	$3,285,000
1998	$1,950,000	$2,900,000	$0	$500,000	$100,000	$5,450,000
1999	$1,190,000	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1,190,000
2000	8,420,000	$6,915,000	$0	$1,094,000	$0	$16,435,915
2001	400,000	$600,000	$0	$95,000	$0	$1,095,000
2002	425,000	$200,000	$0	$700,000	$100,000	$1,425,000
Total	**$30,785,807**	**$35,586,635**	**$1,374,200**	**$7,447,930**	**$613,000**	**$75,914,487**

[a] National Council of La Raza
[b] Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
[c] League of United Latin American Citizens
[d] National Immigration Forum, formerly National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum
[e] National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild

This chart originally appeared in the Spring 1994 (Vol.IV, No.3) issue of *The Social Contract*, and was updated by researcher Joseph Fallon as of May, 2000. Further updating through 2002 has been researched by Ed Rubenstein.

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The Fun in Fund-raising

Book Review by Lee A. MacVaugh

A foundation is a large amount of money completely surrounded by people who want some. –Dwight MacDonald

Philanthropy may be a subject too dangerous to touch, precisely because it is so revealing of individual motives and social preferences. –Stephen Graubard, *Daedalus*

The system that makes the foundation possible is probably worth preserving. –Henry Ford II, Former Chairman, Ford Foundation

People rarely argue with you when you are handing out money. –John Gardner

Investigative reporter Mark Dowie mentions that although philanthropy has been a key component of American history from colonial times, foundations are not an American invention. Accumulated private wealth developed institutional methods to place excess profit to work for society in ancient Persia; in 15th century England; and in pre-revolutionary France, where there were many large foundations.

American Foundations: An Investigative History
by Mark Dowie
Cambridge MA: MIT Press
320 pages, $18.95 paper

Large trusts, many with 10- to 20-billion dollar endowments *are*, however, uniquely American. They originated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as wealthy American industrialists sought ways to avoid taxes and to "put their wealth to use in new and imaginative ways."

The central thesis of Mr. Dowie's book is that "foundations do deserve to exist; but only if they evolve swiftly" from essentially private institutions to ones more open to the public. Foundations need to become less elitist, less secretive, and less arrogant. They need to become more democratic, more transparent, more accountable, and more progressive if they are to ward off Congressional scrutiny and threats of federal government intervention.

Taxpayers are realizing "that approximately half of foundation assets," which would have flowed into state and federal treasuries if they had not been protected by trusts, in effect belong to the public. These massive private, corporate, community, and operating foundations, numbering almost 50,000 in the United States today, have combined assets that approach $425 billion. "About 40 foundations each boast endowments greater than $1 billion."

Dowie asserts that prior to 1910 only 18 American foundations existed. And then, only Russell Sage held an endowment of over $10 million. Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage, Russell Sage's widow, was, in the early 20th century, the wealthiest woman in America. Her giving favored the social sciences.

Many impulses created American philanthropy, according to Dowie. Some of them: religious fervor/conviction, guilt, narcissism, paternalism, greed, a sense of justice, tax avoidance, family preservation, indoctrination of children, noblesse oblige, a quest for immortality, generosity, and, of course, a genuine love of humanity (the definition of philanthropy). The fact is that no two philanthropists have the same motives, drives, or intentions or the same imaginations or hopes. Yet, according to Dowie's research, at some level all of the aforementioned forces are at work in most of these altruists: John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Howard Hughes, Julius Rosenwald, Olivia Sage, Doris Duke, Irene Diamond, Ted Turner, George Soros, Bill Gates, the Astors, the Fords, the Mellons, and the Packards.

Most of the secrets of the rich and famous, as Dowie notes in a particularly interesting chapter, went to their graves with them. Thus, it is difficult to discern what their deepest philanthropic motives were. The actions of early donors funding scientific and medical research, for instance, range from a true love of humanity to base

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imperialistic self-interest.

Dowie and other biographers have pored over the Rockefeller archives in search of his motives. Dowie concludes that there is a factor even more critical than motive to the outcome of philanthropy – the imagination that drives it. "What do philanthropists imagine will be the end result of their giving, whatever their motive? What improvement will their money purchase? What impact will it have?"

It is not really important that Howard Hughes was a narcissistic hypochondriac, a recluse, a germ paranoiac. It *is* important that at some point near the end of his wretched life, Hughes imagined a society made healthier by virtue of biomedical research. The outcome is a $19.2-billion endowment and a lengthy list of medical innovations that might never have occurred without grants from the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. Perhaps his hypochondria sparked his interest in medical research.

In the end, is it important that Rockefeller money may have been used to cleanse the family of the workers' blood at the 1913 Ludlow Massacre in Colorado (11 women and two children were burned to death in an anti-strike action by a Rockefeller holding company)? Or is the salient factor that his money created, in 1891, one of the world's most prestigious universities, the University of Chicago?

John D. Rockefeller and his trusted associate, Frederick Gates, agreed with Andrew Carnegie's ideas (as expressed in his book, *The Social Gospel*) that tactically applied philanthropy could influence curricula, government, and, perhaps most significant of all, make science the handmaiden of industry. Dowie shows how Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Sage were the first to realize the potential of science philanthropy for public policy. They viewed knowledge as vital to the advancement of the country and the world and considered it just as essential to an industrial nation as the production of steel and oil. "Science was the most important university discipline... the well-educated engineer was its most essential product." Rockefeller and Carnegie feared that if the "captains of industry" did not set the agenda for science, then socialists would. If that were to happen, they were convinced that their investments, their legacies, their worlds would perish.

Dowie is disturbed by the billions that foundations (and alumni) have squandered on the obscenely over-endowed Ivy League schools. He argues persuasively that there are *so* many more worthwhile, needy, vital causes crying out for help. Nonetheless, foundations have freed large segments of the world from the curse of diseases such as hookworm, malaria, and yellow fever. They have provided enjoyment of the arts to millions of people, have shown how population can be controlled, and fed millions in the developing countries – the Green Revolution. Foundations have vastly contributed to our knowledge of physical and living nature and to civil rights (The Ford Foundation).

"It is not really important that Howard Hughes was a narcissistic hypochondriac, a recluse, a germ paranoiac. It is important that at some point near the end of his wretched life, Hughes imagined a society made healthier by virtue of biomedical research."

His study of Irene Diamond is especially instructive. Her husband, Aaron Diamond, was a successful, tight-fisted, litigious New York real estate developer. After his sudden death from a heart attack in 1984, Mrs. Diamond finally wrested control of his vast estate. She was a fascinating woman – imaginative, active, and committed to medical research, civil rights, and minority education. She decided in 1987 that the entire endowment of the Aaron Diamond Foundation would "spend itself out of existence in 10 years." And, indeed, in 1997, it closed its doors.

This is a rare event in the philanthropic world, according to the author, because fiduciaries, boards, and families usually vigorously defend their God-given right to perpetuity. They want their jobs, the prestige, and the influence in directing grant money to their favorite causes. Indeed, spending out is not the correct strategy for every foundation, since it calls for a very different

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approach than granting five percent of assets every year, which the Internal Revenue Service Code requires.

Diamond said that knowing we had a limited time in which to get our work done was key to our benevolence and to our modus operandi. "We devoted our resources to making as large an impact as possible in a short length of time. We had the ability to look closely at a problem and not be distracted by worries over long term job security or a budding bureaucracy."

This book is a rattling good story. It is specific, livened with personal anecdotes, office politics, and is muscular in its logic. It contains a wealth of practical information for grant seekers. I recommend it for anyone in the nonprofit orbit, especially fund-raisers, board members, and executive directors who wish to achieve better results in their dealings with foundations.

Dowie's approach is clear, insightful, and balanced with quotes and case studies from liberal foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, Pew) and from conservative ones (John Olin, Lynde and Harry Bradley, Scaife, Smith Richardson).

He notes that conservative foundations have borrowed the practice of collaboration from the liberals and used it far more effectively. They have a clearly articulated vision. They invest wisely and as one. And they have helped to found and to fund such institutions on the right as the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, the Federalist Society, Free Congress Research and Education, the Hoover Institution, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and the Manhattan and Hudson Institutes.

Dowie narrates an interesting story about the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club had historically received very little of its revenue from foundations. Yet, in 1990 it accepted a $275,000 grant from the William Weeden Foundation to work on population issues. Soon, population research and advocacy became the highest-funded activity of the Sierra Club, which was drawn into a national controversy regarding immigration control. The controversy culminated in a contentious ballot initiative brought before the full membership in April 1998. "To Weeden's dismay, the club's members voted to remain neutral on...immigration."

The author's insight and information on education grants is quite revealing. In 1993, Walter Annenberg donated $500 million in the form of a challenge grant to the educational establishment. The challenge (for local school districts and for huge regional reform projects like the Los Angeles Metropolitan Project) created a magnet for an additional $550 million in corporate and foundation funding for K through 12 reform. Dowie uses this to illustrate both the value and the folly of major proactive giving (see pages 33-43). National attention was focused on education. Accountability became a watchword. More teachers were hired. But huge bureaucracies were created, money was wasted, and test scores showed only slight increases.

In the 19th century, many felt that public schools existed mainly to Americanize immigrants, not to educate and enlighten voters, as Thomas Jefferson earlier had envisioned. Roger Benjamin of the Rand Corporation thinks (2001) that "we are in deep trouble" because large schools are not educating new immigrants and the urban poor, that 25 to 30 percent of American students are being left behind. We are going to need a Marshall Plan for education, according to Benjamin. The Annenberg Initiative is a start, but it is another pebble in the Mississippi.

Philanthropy should contribute to the betterment of mankind. And, much of it does. However, as Dowie makes clear in his recounting of the funding for the agricultural Green Revolution, many times gifts are well-meaning but misguided. They cause social dislocation because local, field input is lacking. Small farmers and the landless were not consulted in the effort to grow more food. New York ran the show. In much of the undeveloped world, "The Green Revolution was seen, not as a program to end world hunger but as a Western imperial response to peasant insurrections like the Chinese revolution." Critics saw it as a way to preserve the power of the landlord class, to arm them against communist insurrection, wrapped in the noble cause of ending world hunger. It was a version of Cold War corporatism transferred to philanthropy.

Foundations perform essential functions in our democracy. They finance institutions, inventions, movements, science, and art that might not exist without their support. However, Dowie says that if they are to achieve their full potential, they must show more imagination and more leadership. The infrastructure and the money are already in place.

Dowie's writing is clear and insightful. He has solid evidence to back his assertions. His product is scholarly and visionary. ■

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Blood for Oil – and Other Things

The coming struggles over resources

by John Attarian

Mainstream opinion predicts ever-widening affluence and harmony. But those who kept their grip on reality, such as Michael Klare, director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College, are less sanguine about mankind's prospects. In this informative and disquieting book, Klare makes a penetrating reading of current events and argues persuasively that resource wars, especially over oil and water, will become "the most distinctive feature of the global security environment."

Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict
by Michael T. Klare (with a new introduction by the author)
New York: Henry Holt, Owl Books
304 pages, $15.00 paperback

With the Cold War over, self-interest now dominates America's strategic agenda, especially, Klare observes, "the determination to ensure U.S. access to overseas supplies of vital resources." The main force behind this shift is a redefinition of national power as based on economic dynamism and technological innovation, rather than on military might. Other major powers are shifting likewise. In short, what's happening is an "*economization* [original italics] of international security affairs." Put another way, economism now drives foreign policy.

Resources are important now, Klare argues, because ideological conflicts have disappeared; and because demand for resources is rising, driven by both relentless population growth (from 2.6 billion persons worldwide in 1950 to 6 billion by 1999) and the spread of resource-gobbling industrialization and affluence; because resources are limited; and because ownership of many crucial resources is shared and increasingly in dispute.

Klare's treatment of oil is especially good. He rightly deems oil the resource most likely to provoke international conflict. For one thing, it is absolutely crucial to modern economies, which use oil in huge quantities. Moreover, demand is rising relentlessly. The Department of Energy projects that world use will rise from 77 million barrels a day in 2000 to 94 mbd in 2010 and 110 mbd by 2020. Unfortunately, oil is also "a finite, nonrenewable substance," and by some time in the next two decades, we will have used up half the world's oil endowment, leading to "recurring shortages." The jury is still out about hybrid cars and fuel cells, Klare warns, and he is rightly unenthused about non-conventional oil sources such as tar sands. This situation is worsened by "the inescapable constraints of geography." Oil deposits are very unevenly distributed over the planet, mostly concentrated in a few areas – some of them, such as the Persian Gulf area, highly unstable. This means that oil availability is closely dependent on the economic and political conditions of a few countries; disruption in these countries and interruption of the oil flow would mean global economic hardship. Given all this, he warns, conflict over oil is "almost a foregone conclusion."

Weaving together fossil fuel endowments, projected population growth, projected energy consumption, the history of America's involvement in

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the Persian Gulf, international relations, arms races, and much else, Klare devotes about a third of his book to detailed examinations of the three major current or potential sources of oil and natural gas, where the risk of conflict is greatest: the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea region, and the South China Sea. He makes a strong case that the Persian Gulf is the oil area most likely to see conflict, because it contains 65 percent of global oil reserves; world dependence on the Gulf oil will therefore inexorably rise; market forces may worsen matters by pushing oil prices painfully high and creating hardship and political crisis in oil-consuming countries; and our deepening involvement in the Gulf is bitterly resented by Muslims. The Iraq War, in which oil obviously figured, has already vindicated Klare.

The Caspian Sea area is widely believed to have great potential as a source of oil and natural gas; Klare cites estimates of possible oil reserves of 200-270 billion barrels. Unfortunately, since Klare finished the first edition in October 2000, estimates of the Caspian's possible reserves have been reduced repeatedly, as the April 2001, August 2001, June 2002 issues of Colin Campbell's *ASPO Newsletter* reported. Ten years of exploration have found 20 billion barrels; as one of Campbell's contributors observed, this means that finding 200 billion barrels would take a century. One wishes Klare had updated his data for the 2002 edition. His discussion of the problems of transporting oil and gas from the landlocked Caspian by pipeline through politically turbulent territory is intelligent, but if the Caspian does not become, in his words "the new oil El Dorado," the likelihood of conflict will diminish accordingly.

Meanwhile, rapid economic growth is driving up Asia's demand for energy. The DOE forecasts that China's energy consumption will rise from 27 quadrillion BTUs in 1990, to 68.1 in 2010 and 97.3 in 2020. This means a soaring need for fossil fuels, which this region lacks in the required quantities. Most of these nations depend on imported fuels; Japan has virtually no oil. Therefore Asia's industrializing nations are claiming the waters of the South China Sea, in order to gain access to the oil and natural gas believed to exist underwater, and are carving the Sea up into exclusive economic zones (EEZs). Many of these EEZs overlap, however, meaning that in many places two or more states are claiming the same area. China, which has abundant, highly polluting coal but little oil and gas, has been especially belligerent. The countries facing the South China Sea are in a naval arms race, Klare reports, and some small clashes have already occurred. Also, America is increasing naval deployments to the area, so as to keep sea lanes open for shipment of oil to Japan. Here again, Klare plausibly sees "all of the ingredients for a major military confrontation." However, this depends ultimately on whether substantial oil and gas deposits indeed exist under the South China Sea. Klare admits that this "is still a matter of some conjecture," and that "because so little drilling has been conducted," experts can't yet make "reliable assessments." Time will tell.

However, humanity does unquestionably face terrible trouble regarding water, as rapidly rising demand presses against a limited supply. Despite historical errors (claiming, for example, that General Gordon's death at Khartoum and the Anglo-French confrontation at Fashoda were over water), Klare's treatment of water is well informed and convincing. The Earth's human population is estimated to reach 8 billion by 2020. Trouble is, less than one percent of the Earth's fresh water, or about 0.01 percent of all water on the planet, is available for human use. While the world population doubled between 1950 and 1990, human water use rose some 300 percent. If this continues, Klare warns, we will soon be using all of the available water. The World Bank calculates that the minimum per capita human water need, taking into account agricultural and industrial uses, is 1,000 cubic meters a year. Many Middle Eastern and African nations had available water below that minimum already in 1990; population growth will push many more below that level by 2025. Like oil, water is very unevenly distributed

Klare ably surveys the most urgent instances of international conflict over water: along the Nile, the Jordan, the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Indus. Although details of these situations vary, they manifest a common pattern: a river running through two or more nations which share it as a water source; rapid population growth in these riparian nations, with more growth projected for the future; the upstream nations seeking to divert the headwaters to meet their own rapidly rising needs; the downstream nations alarmed

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at this and exerting pressure to ensure the water flow they need. For example, Egypt's population is projected by the World Resources Institute to grow from 65.7 million in 1998 to 115.5 million by 2050; and so far, Egypt has succeed in appropriating the lion's share of Nile water for its own use. But the countries upstream, which also have exploding populations (Ethiopia's population is projected to rise in the same period from 62.1 million to 212.7 million), have ambitious water-use plans of their own, to which Egypt has responded with threats. Conflict over the Jordan's water was a major element of Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1960s and remains important today, with Israeli settlers on the West Bank getting most of the water. Turkey's pursuit of a massive irrigation and reservoir system threatens Syria and Iraq, both of which depend heavily on the Tigris and Euphrates for their water.

Oil and water are not the only resources in dispute. Clashes are also occurring, Klare reports, over minerals in Africa, copper on the island of Bougainville in the Solomons, and old-growth timber on Borneo. Resource extraction on Bougainville and Borneo is ruining the environment and the natives' way of life. Their requests for a halt to timber cutting spurned, the natives of Borneo are resisting by force, and enduring brutal repression. Klare argues that Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, is where resource conflict will most likely be bloody and protracted, because Africa has "vast reserves of untapped resources," especially oil, minerals, gems, and timber. American foreign and defense policy, he points out, has reversed its long neglect of Africa. Other major countries such as China are also deepening their involvement in Africa.

Resource wars will be costly, Klare warns. Some $75 billion, a quarter of America's defense budget, goes for the Persian Gulf. Usefully, he points out that resource wars cost resources. The coalition in Operation Desert Storm burned up 19 million gallons of oil a day – a daily consumption about as large as Argentina's. International cooperation may prove more effective than conflict for securing resources, he argues, and recommends implementing cooperation with "robust international institutions" which could allocate resources "equitably" in times of need and promote research for better resource extraction and use. A model for such institutions exists in the International Energy Agency. To avert costly resource conflicts and "ensure an adequate supply of essential materials, we must work now to establish a global system of resource conservation and collaboration."

While Klare's command of the strategic studies literature is excellent, he is weak on ecology, resource depletion, ecological economics, and so on. For example, and very oddly, he never cites Walter Youngquist's magnificent *GeoDestinies*, although a more germane book for his purpose is hard to imagine. And he has barely scratched the surface of the oil depletion literature.

This deficiency impairs Klare's thinking. His solution is hopelessly inadequate, because it does nothing about the exploding demand for resources. If conflict flows from growing demand driven by population growth and rising per-capita consumption colliding with finite supply, it inexorably follows that the problem cannot be solved, and conflict averted, without resolutely tackling demand. Reshuffling resources among nations is not enough. In the language of ecological economics, Klare addresses only the allocation problem and does not confront the crucial problems of optimal scale and minimizing matter-energy throughput. He would have done well to read Herman Daly.

Reading Garrett Hardin, whom he also overlooked, would have helped, too. Klare persistently refers to resource "shortages," and although his book bristles with downright frightening projections of population growth, he never draws the obvious conclusion that the real problem is what Hardin calls "longage" of demand, which necessarily takes us to population control.

Nevertheless, Klare's merits outweigh his shortcomings. *Resource Wars* is a persuasive and timely refutation of the cornucopians. Klare's basic thesis is unarguably right. He not only confirms my own arguments that economism generates conflict rather than harmony, and that its triumphalism will be demolished by resource limits, he powerfully supports Hardin, Daly, William Catton (*Overshoot*) and Malthus. A well-stocked magazine of intellectual ammunition for realists, *Resource Wars* is must reading. ■

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Beyond Earth Day

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by GAYLORD NELSON

With Susan Campbell and Paul Wozniak

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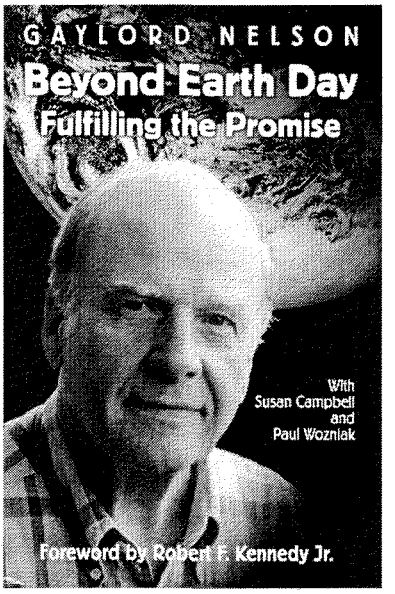

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